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East Europe Report



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AGRICULTURE CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EXPERT REPORTS ON INCREASING ACIDITY OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

AU110834 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 August 1986 on page 4 carries a 2,000-word article by Engineer Zoltan Bedrna, doctor of sciences, staff member of the Bratislava Research Center for Soil Fertility, entitled "Treatment for Acid Soil." The article deals with the benefits of applying lime to acid agricultural land and recommends the optimal doses and periodicity of application for individual crops and given degrees of acidity.

Bedrna says that owing to "atmospheric precipitation, acid industrial fall-out (which ranges between 30 and 100 kg of chlorine and 20 and 200 kg of sulfur per hectare of soil a year), and the application of nitrogen fertilizers," Slovakia faces the problem of a growing acidity of its agricultural land. Although the "most critical period" was between 1971 and 1975 when the area of "strongly acid arable land with a pH value below 5.5 increased from 20 to 25 percent of total arable land," more than 300,000 hectares of arable land in Slovakia continues to be rated as having an "agronomically adverse strongly acid soil reaction." According to Bedrna, the situation has become worse recently, especially in the West Slovak (Topolcany and Levice districts) and East Slovak (Michalovce district) regions. He attributes this "failure to significantly reduce the area of land with a strong acidity" to "agrotechnical and organizational shortcomings" as well as to the shortage of adequate machinery for applying lime.

Bedrna estimates that "every year acid reaction reduces total production of grain crops in Slovakia by 100,000-150,000 metric tons, production of potatoes by 50,000-70,000 metric tons, sugar beet production by 10,000-15,000 metric tons, and perennial feed crops production by 80,000-100,000 metric tons." He argues that the periodic application of lime increases both the yields and the quality of crops and that this is an investment that yields a rapid return on capital.

/9604

cso: 2400/389

AGRICULTURE CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

TOMAN, USSR ENVOY VIEW AGRICULTURE--On 11 August in Prague Miroslav Toman, CSSR minister of agriculture and food, received Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR. "In a friendly conversation they spoke about the anticipated results in the agricultural sector this year, and about the Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in the agricultural-food complex. They stressed, in particular, the creation of direct relations between Czechoslovak and Soviet agricultural and food enterprises." [Summary] [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 12 Aug 86 p 1] /9604

NEW TECHNOLOGY FOR HOPS--Hops will be harvested from 10,300 hectares in the Czech Sovialist Republic this year. The addition of 42 new LCCH-2 hop harvesters and other machinery to the existing machine pool will permit a mechanized harvest of 97 percent of hop gardens. However, hop growers will still require the help of 20,000 university students and 14,000 secondary school students. A new technology of hop treatment--deep-freezing instead of drying--will also be tested for the first time this year. Laboratory experiments have shown that the dosage of frozen hops can be reduced 20 to 30 percent compared with dried hops with no impairment to the quality of beer. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Aug 86 p 1] /9604

CSO: 2400/389

AGRICULTURE ROMANIA

USE OF GROWTH STIMULANT IN CALVES DURING NURSING PERIOD

Bucharest REVISTA DE CRESTEREA ANIMALELOR in Romanian No 3, Mar 86 p 14-15

[Article by Lenuta Sotu, N. Sotu, Secuieni-Neamt Agricultural Research Station, and Dr R. G. Fecioru, Institute of Cattle Raising Research and Production, Balotesti: "Use of 'Ciploment' in Growth and Development of Calves During the Nursing Period"]

[Text] "Ciploment," a growth stimulant developed by the Institute of Virology in Bucharest (laboratory director: Tamara Paunescu), is a natural medicinal product obtained by extraction with specific selective solvents from natural active principles contained in a mixture of plants occurring in the Romanian spontaneous flora, in conjunction with primary and secondary products obtained in beekeeping (honey, propolis).

Experiments have been performed demonstrating that this preparation is especially active as a factor stimulating the medullary cells in animal organism protection processes and as a bactericide, bacteriostat, and antimicrobial agent.

Ciploment has been found to be active in cases of dystrophy, medullary hypoplasia, anemia, hepatic dystrophy, and pulmonary disorders. It also exerts a pronounced effect in regulating intestinal passage.

Its action is manifested in normalization of the intestinal flora, counteraction of diarrhea, improvement of the appetite (due to the ether oils and plant balms, and in better utilization of feeds.

Intensive livestock raising in industrial complexes has led to the appearance of new diseases, so-call technopathies, caused by defective feeding, malnutrition, degraded and toxic feeds, stress states, the large number of animals raised in overpopulated shelters, and obvious technological errors. Such situations have extremely unfavorable repercussions on the state of health of cows, and especially on the health of newborn calves.

The currently available therapeutic remedies have been unable to resolve the complex problem posed by these disorders. The drugs themselves are toxic to the organisms of young animals with altered functions.

The need has arisen for introducing new medicinal products which can be used to treat calves during the most critical period (0 to 3 months). In

addition to exerting non-specific antimicrobial action, such products should stimulate the defense functions of the organism, detoxify, and make up the deficiencies of the organism, while providing the essential requirements for proteins, glucides, lipides, hormones, vitamins, macroelements, and trace elements.

An experiment was performed at the Secuieni Agricultural Research Station in Neamt County, with "Brown Breed" calves sick with diarrhea, which were divided at random into two equal groups. In 1983, the sick calves in the first group were administered Ciploment in a dosage of 30 grams per head per day dissolved in hot mint tea or in oak bark infusions, 2 to 3 days in succession. The sick calves in the other group were treated with the conventional medication.

In 1984, the experimental methodology applied to calves up to 15 days old was the same as in 1983. There was a difference in that each of the calves in the two groups was given 30 grams of Ciploment once a week, for the purpose of establishing the growth-stimulating effect of the product.

An observation card was prepared for each calf. All data associated with appearance and development of disease were recorded on the card.

The basic nutrition for the calves during this period conformed to the technology prevailing on the farm. Following the colostric period of 5 to 7 days, the calves were given hay of good quality and mixed starter feed of the following composition: corn 40 percent, barley 20 percent, sunflower meal 10 percent, soya meal 10 percent, wheat bran 16 percent, dicalcium phosphate 3 percent, and salt 1 percent. The value of 1 kilogram of this mixture is 0.98 feed unit and 143 grams PD.

The dynamics of weight growth and feed consumption was also observed throughout the experiment, along with the medicinal effect of the product in treating non-specific gastroenteritis and pneumonia.

Results

The effect of Ciploment administered in the feed of calves was expressed not only in rapid and total recovery of the sick calves treated from diarrhea and respiratory viroses, but also in weight increases which were about 150 grams per head per day higher in the group treated with Ciploment than in the reference group treated with conventional medication.

Specific consumption dropped about 30 percent. The calves also exhibited a very good state of health and good resistance to diseases.

From the viewpoint of cost effectiveness, the cost of administering Ciploment to one sick calf is 9 lei, while the cost of treating a sick calf with conventional medication over the entire period reaches 264 lei.

Findings

Ciploment administered to calves suffering from non-specific gastroenteritis exerts a powerful therapeutic effect which is expressed concretely in

recovery of sick calves following administration of two to three doses each of 30 grams of product per head per day.

The product exhibits prophylactic properties, which are reflected in the increased resistance of the organism to disease and in absence of morbidity.

Ciploment has a growth-stimulating effect manifested in weight increases about 50 percent higher and a decline in specific consumption of 1 to 1.5 feed unit.

Administration of Ciploment is more economical than the conventional systems applied for treatment of non-specific gastroenteritis.

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6115 CSO: 2700/253 ECONOMY

QUALITY URGED IN PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER ITEMS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jul 86 p 4

[Article by Frantisek Strnad: "This, Too, Is Quality"]

[Text] It has been stated in the RUDE PRAVO article of 15 July 1986, entitled "Where To Begin," that we manufacture almost one-half million of bricklayers trowels and it still is not enough. However, I do not see the problem as being one of quantity but rather of quality.

Trowels produced years ago lasted whole decades. I have been using them for the past fifteen years without any problems. The maximum useful life of those being made now is one to three years, that is how long they last, and one has to use them very carefully. The trowel either breaks off at the spot weld point of the shank or the handle attachment becomes loose and starts turning. And I ask you to try plastering when the trowel turns in the handle like a fan blade. So you just have to go and buy a new one—then we are surprised that there is such a high consumption.

But other tools have similar problems; let us take a mason's steel floats. Their useful life used to be ten or more years, today some of them last one-half of a year. Their specialty innovation is the replacement of steel floats with plastic materials [novodur] which lasts about a year. Someone may object, but we have replaced steel with plastics. Yes we did, but what savings did we achieve?

And I am not talking only about material losses. I am working as vocational teacher for masons and bricklayers and I am not impartial to the fact that the quality of tools is causing confusion among the young people. How am I supposed to convince the apprentices that quality work is always important when they can justly answer: "But comrade foreman, those who approved the manufacture of such tools, did they do quality work?"

/13104 CSO: 2400/385

NEW METHOD DEVISED FOR ANALYZING COST OF POWER GENERATION

Leipzig ENERGIETECHNIK in German Vol 36 No 5, May 86 (signed to press 29 Jan 86) pp 182-185

[Article by Klaus Roesler, docent and doctor of economic sciences, Zittau College for Engineering: "Development and Introduction of a Decision-Related Cost Analysis in the Energy and Power Plant Combines"]

[Text] 1. On the New Fundamental Precedure of the Analysis

In close cooperation with selected energy combines and enterprises of the VE Brown Coal Power Plants Combine, the Zittau College for Engineering developed a methodology for flexible decision-related cost analysis (analysis of the reduction of prime costs according to essential influence factors in connection with the analysis of the profit deviation). It is now gradually being put into practice and is simultaneously being further developed and improved.

The basic point of departure is the need to prepare and gradually put through a fundamental turnaround in the quality of the accounting and statistics of the combines, a change that

--corresponds to the increasing importance of this information system in the preparation of decisions under the conditions of socialist intensification and

--also includes a rationalization of information processing and transmission while utilizing up-to-date electronic data processing technology.

Figure 1 expresses the main aspects of the formation of this analysis.

For the proposed analysis methodology to meet the demands on analysis both as an instrument as well as an object of socialist intensification, it deviated from the traditional procedure as follows:

--The analysis is initially derived not primarily from the requirements of state reporting and from the existing rigid accounting system but from the technological process and the possibilities for influencing it within the combine or enterprise. In addition, state reporting must be guaranteed. Extensive use must be made of the available data.

- --A gain of information is to be achieved mainly through the practical and purposeful linking of available data with the help of mathematical and statistical methods and procedures.
- --For routine stretches, algorithms are standardized, for whose servicing existing statistical programs for large-scale and minicomputer technology are utilized.
- --The standard algorithms are not to be confused with the rigid accounting system, for they depend upon the situation and are used in accordance with the individual work style of each manager. But one must ensure the establishment of data banks and time series. The flexible combination of batch processing and the conversational mode in up-to-date data processing technology makes possible automated solutions under these conditions as well.
- -The analysis components can be utilized multivalently for technologically similar processes. That facilitates the utilization of existing electronic data processing programs and the performance of comparative analyses.

2. On the Determination of Influence Factors in the Analysis

The derivation of the analysis from the technological process is a matter of course in the technical analysis. But the economic analysis has not yet been set up theoretically under the specific conditions of the energy supply. In practice, it is mainly carried out relatively detached from the technological process.

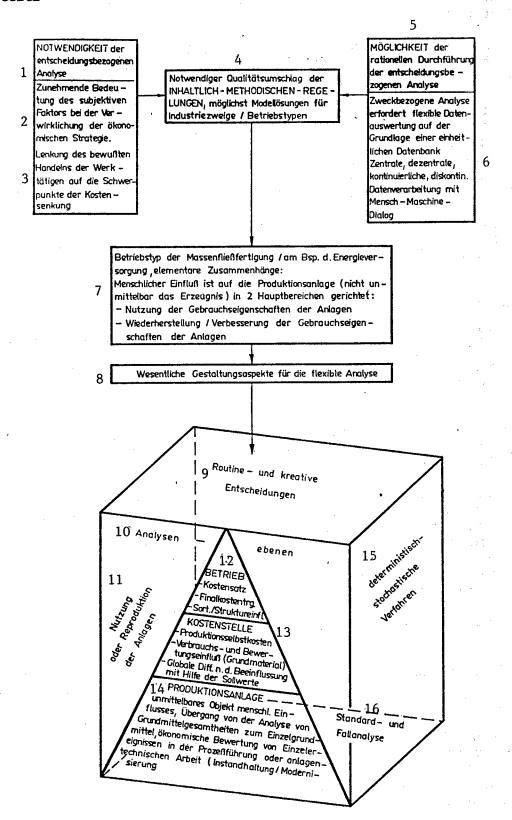
But only a technical-economic analysis guarantees the causal research necessary for purposeful cost control. It is to be carried out in relation to areas, products and measures.

Generally known are the restrictions with respect to the satisfying of social needs, the primary energy sources utilized, environmental protection, the available producer capacities, and the substantial prolongation of their service life that affect the sphere of influence of the combines and enterprises of the power supply. But it is now precisely a matter of indicating the existing possibilities for exercising influence under these conditions. The influence of the managers at all managerial levels and of the working people in the power supply is not aimed directly at the product but at the operation, servicing, maintenance and modernization of the production facilities.

To establish responsibility for costs and to direct human creativity purposefully toward the reduction of costs, the following demands on the analysis must be met:

- --ways must be shown for how to achieve a secure and dependable power supply at the lowest costs under the existing restrictions and
- --it must be shown why there were deviations from these optimum ways and what the results were.

Figure 1. Essential Aspects of the Formation of the Analysis of the Reduction of Prime Costs



Key:

- 1. Necessity of the decision-related analysis
- 2. Increasing importance of the subjective factor in the realization of the economic strategy
- 3. Steering of the conscious action of the workers toward the focal points of cost reduction
- 4. Necessary improvement of the quality of the provisions on content and methodology and, if possible, model solutions for industrial branches and operational modes
- 5. Possibility of the rational implementation of the decision-related analysis
- 6. Purposeful analysis requires flexible data evaluation on the basis of a uniform data bank; central, decentralized, continuous, discontinuous data processing with human-machine conversation
- 7. Operational mode of mass continuous production under the example of the power supply; elementary relationships:

 Human influence is directed toward the production facility (not the product directly) in two main areas:
 - --utilization of the use characteristics of the facilities
 - --restoration or improvement of the use characteristics of the facilities
- 8. Essential design aspects for flexible analysis
- 9. Routine--and creative decisions
- 10. Analysis levels
- 11. Utilization or reproduction of the facilities
- 12. Operations
 - --cost ratio
 - -- final cost unit
 - --assortment/structural influence
- 13. Cost center
 - --production prime costs
 - -- consumption and evaluation influence (basic material)
 - --global differentiation in the influence with the aid of the planned values
- 14. Production facility—immediate object of human influence, transition from the analysis of overall fixed assets to individual fixed assets, economic evaluation of individual events in the process control or technical work with fixed assets (maintenance/modernization)
- 15. Deterministic-stochastic procedure
- 16. Standard and case analysis

The influences on the cost reduction and increase in profit that result from the guaranteeing and increasing of the availability of the facilities, the reduction of energy losses, the freeing of manpower, the rationalization of maintenance and the prevention of socially unnecessary costs are to be indicated under consideration of the dynamics of the process, that is, in accordance with

- -- the long-term turnover of the fixed assets (ensuring of high efficiency in the long run within the scope of the decision sequence) and
- -- the stochastic influences on production and maintenance.

In expanding the usual analysis of plan fulfillment, one must indicate both the plan effectiveness of necessary reproduction measures as well as the implementation of these measures. The extent to which the enterprise is meeting its responsibility in maintenance and modernization can be judged not only in a monthly plan-fulfillment analysis, for example.

There must be a thorough indication of the economic effects of internal influences of the manner of use, operation, maintenance and modernization of the facilities, and systematic measures or of disturbances.

At the same time, however, the external influences are also considered, for the following reasons:

- -- They have the nature of restrictions for the internal influence and also influence the intensity of the effect of the internal influences;
- -- The effect of external influences is to be indicated for the purpose of evaluating the performance of the enterprises and for comparative analyses;
- -The term "external influence" is relative in the management pyramid but if possible a cost analysis of all stages in the energy process should be sought.
- 3. On the Characteristics of a Higher Degree of Reliability and Its Realization

The increase in the degree of reliability of the analysis is characterized by the following features:

- --increase in the complexity of the analytical statement,
- --increase in the specificity and degree of differentiation of the analytical statement,
- -- improvement of the topicality of the analytical statement.

The simultaneous realization of these characteristics with justifiable expenditures initially appears to be a contradiction. Its resolution requires the realization of the following principles:

- --The decision process of a combine or enterprise is structured hierarchically. It follows that different analytical statements are required at the different levels.
- --At the levels, not all of the influence factors are of equal importance under the criterion of the susceptibility or the intensity of their effect. Some factors can be omitted for simplification (within established tolerance limits) or because of a lack of possibilities for quantification (approximation calculation).
- -- The use of technological indices of capacity utilization and energy conversion increases the specificity and topicality of the analysis. In the

daily management of the main power process, they serve directly as a management instrument. The economic weight of their change can be judged on the basis of previous cost analyses. In the maintenance process, financial indices must be used because of the heterogenous performance structure and for the complex efficiency statement.

--In the operational analysis, it is mainly a matter of determining or predetermining substantial changes relative to the plan and their effects on costs and profit. In the complex analysis, the full cost calculation is realized in the scope of a technical and economic analysis.

With the utilization of the analysis methodology, the degree of reliability is increased, despite a limitation of the data volume, because essential relationships are now becoming more clearly recognizable or are being included in the object of the analysis for the first time. The degree of differentiation and topicality of the cost analysis is therefore achieved through the selection and evaluation of technical data especially relevant for economic efficiency. Completely new possibilities arise through the introduction of automatic data logging and the introduction of CAD/CAM in maintenance.

A substantial degree of newness is achieved in that for the first time the interaction between maintenance and the main process is included in the cost and profit analysis. It thus becomes possible to demonstrate the benefit of the maintenance and especially of the associated scientific-technical progress in relation to the efficiency of the main process. In this way, the essential influences of the preparation phase of production are included in the analysis. A novel interlocking of the cost-benefit calculation is achieved contents-and-methods regulation of the interrelationships as applied to areas and measures. The global reflection of complex interrelationships for total fixed assets under consideration of the influences of the wear and tear and contamination of the facilities requires stochastic calculations in long-term time series, for which proposals are being submitted. With their application and improvement, the transparency of these complex interrelationships is gradually increased.

4. On the Structure of the Analysis

At the focus of the scientific justification of the methodology are the levels, the selection rules and the algorithms on the basis of deviation analysis and the regression, correlation and trend calculations.

A substantial gain in information is achieved by breaking the cost-generation problems down to levels. The following hierarchy was developed:

-The "enterprise" level: complex information for the enterprise as a whole or for the final product. The inside of the stages of production and the transport of the energy sources is seen as a "black box."

- -- The "cost center/works" level: analysis of a process stage, above all of the usable energy sources (a totality of fixed assets in the analysis relating to fixed assets);
- --The "fixed assets" level: analysis of the individual fixed asset in its reproduction cycles, interrelationship with strategies relating to wear and tear or the combatting of breakdowns, integration of modernization in maintenance;
- --The "maintenance production" level: after the performance process of maintenance was treated as a global influence factor in the preceding levels, the internal influences of the performance fulfillment and rationalization (increase in labor productivity, economical use of materials, etc.) are now indicated.

At an increasing level of aggregation, structure influences in procurement and sales are demonstrable as a result of the homogeneity of the energy soruces or their comparability through the heat equivalent. After the short or long-term influenceability of costs and the utilization of the information in the management process, a differentiation is made according to the following areas of analysis:

- 1. Analysis of the cost deviations (reduction of prime costs)
- --complex quarterly analyses, primarily retrogressive, for the complex evaluation of plan fulfillment and as a planning basis,
- --monthly analyses, retrogressive and a preview calculation, for state reporting and operational control of plan fulfillment and the organizing of the reduction of costs,
- --dispositive or measures-related analysis (case analysis as a function of certain events, situations or measures).
- 2. Analyses on the long-term influencing of costs
- --investigation of time series and interrelationships with the help of stochastic procedures,
- --concentration on the interrelationship between maintenance and the main process,
- -- the problem of the assessment of plan fulfillment in maintenance and modernization (long-term dynamic plan fulfillment analysis).

An analysis framework makes possible the gradual extension of the analysis in the form of compatible components. At the present time, the following areas are available for subsequent utilization:

-- analysis of the influences of the change in the cost unit structure and the power procurement structure on the cost trend of an energy combine, developed

primarily for the cost and profit analysis of transmission, conduction and distribution of electric power;

- --cost and profit analysis of the production of electric power and the generation of heat with more depth in the area of fuel costs (as a periodic analysis and as a case analysis);
- -cost analysis of the maintenance production;
- --beginnings of an analysis of maintenance efficiency on the interrelationships between maintenance and the main process;
- --a measures-related cost and profit analysis, in which with the help of a hierarchically structured system of indices the influence of maintenance and modernization on the costs and profit of the enterprise is demonstrated;
- --a system of analytical questions on the long-term dynamic and short-term assessment of the plan fulfillment and reduction of costs in maintenance in the dialectical interrelationship with the main process.

Above all, the existing index systems of the standard methodology (heat-economical analysis) and the analysis of availability and malfunctions were opened up for analysis. In addition, proposals were worked out for the analytical integration and evaluation of the index overview developed by the ZFUA [expansion unknown] "Maintenance Economy." (Footnote) (This index system was developed by this ZFUA of the Chamber of Technology under the direction of Prof Dr of Sciences Marx, Dresden Technical University. The author, as a member of this team, collaborated in the preparation of the index overview and subsequently developed proposals for its analytical evaluation.)

After a program of the VEB Robotron Combine became available for the statistical calculations with the help of large-scale computers, a program for office computers was also developed at the Zittau College of Engineering.

5. The application of the analysis methodology will support standardizations, performance evaluations and comparative analyses in relation to individual fixed assests or totalities of fixed assets.

There are substantial reserves in the improvement of the technical-economic analysis as an inherent part of the management work of engineers and economists for ensuring a stable as well as efficient energy supply. Its development requires that economic and technical analysis permeate one another substantially more intensely and that departmental barriers to the complex preparation of decisions be overcome. That is also a precondition for the rational use of modern information-processing technologies requiring integrated organizational solutions (unified data banks). Consequently, the development of the technical base corresponds to the development trends with respect to the contents of the information systems.

9746

CSO: 2300/493

ECONOMY HUNGARY

NYERS ARGUES FOR MOVING AHEAD WITH EFFECTIVE REFORM

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Jun 86 p 5

[Article by Rezso Nyers, deputy chief of the main department of the Secretariat for International Economic Relations: "Full Stop or Evolution?"]

[Text] Full stop or evolution, bogging down or reform—these are the questions which, based on changes in the economic indicators, worry not only the economics experts, but the general public as well.

According to our plans, after a protracted period of holding back, 1985 was to have been the first year to begin the revival of our economy; when compared to previous years, there should be a relatively accelerated growth along with an upswing in domestic consumption. This did not happen. On the contrary, events which took place in 1985 indicate: a gap has opened up between the tendency of steps actually taken and the aims of economic policy. This is a burden borne not only by the economy, but to an ever increasing degree, by politics as well. What happened in 1985 was that the democratization process typical for nearly all aspects of society, conflicted with the worsening economic situation. Tensions of this sort—were we to misinterpret the causes—would inevitably hinder a democratization process so desirable for the future as well.

Reform and Uncertainty

Neither do the achievements of the current year, so far, warrant great hopes for the expected upswing. What is more, the tensions would seem to have become even greater. Our financial situation is worse than in 1985; for the time being the revenue outflow exceeds the level justified by the volume of production; our foreign trade has yet to begin to show signs of the anticipated evolution.

If we examine the underlying causes of this complicated situation, we cannot be satisfied with the excuse, true as it may be, of a cold winter and hot summer, since it is our structural weakness, lack of efficiency and consequent limitations in international competition about which we must first do something in order to avoid that the Hungarian economy be permanently characterized by a "shortness of breath."

The 7th five-year plan of the people's economy, with its program of economic development was to a large extent, predicated upon a reactivation and renewal

of the social reform process. Much as in earlier times, namely the 60's, its essence is the modernization of our methods of direction and management. But today's situation is quite different from that of the 60's: in the midst of considerably poorer foreign and domestic economic conditions we cannot count on such quick and spectacular results as we were able to muster in certain areas about two decades ago as a result of the reform. In addition, the prevailing problems and the absence of the hoped-for results have bolstered misgivings toward the reform process. All of this has prompted many to trace the problems and worries to the renewed reform effort and to verbalize their doubts: is it at all possible for us to conquer our economic ills by the use of indirect direction methods?

However, there cannot be a direct cause and effect relationship between the economic process of the last year or year and a half and the development of directed economy methods. The less so, since we have just begun working on the reforms planned for the next several years—not necessarily with sufficient consistency and determination—and the beneficial effects of such changes, on the whole, can only be felt after the elapse of a longer interval. Of course, in the best interest of the future of the system of directed economy, we must uncover and clear up the contradictory situations of the present, since that is the only way to prevent the guiding principles of the reform from winding up in a dead—end.

The "Moment of Truth"

One of the most serious dilemmas of recent years: How to combine, under present circumstances, growth and economic balance strengthening? Is it at all possible, in our present economic situation, to maintain simultaneously both of these fundamental aims of economic policy? In looking for an answer we should mention as the paradox of recent years--and possibly as one of the main causes of our present problems--the fact that we have been under pressure to find solutions leading to quick results in order to bolster our foreign trade balance. This pressure pushed quantitative considerations into the forefront to such an extent that in order to achieve absolutely necessary excess quotas, we had to increase the proportion of low-yield and even uneconomical production and export. Our economic policy, to be sure, succeeded in the short run in solving our most serious balancing problems, but either failed to make structural adjustments to the basic changes in international economy, or did so at a rate much slower than needed. Consequently our structural jeopardy, instead of easing, continued to deepen in certain areas: our gradually obsolescent, uneconomical production and the maintenance of exports became the source of continuous exchange ratio losses. Thus, in the final analysis, the potential energy resources of our growth may dissipate--without contributing to the establishment of a foreign trade balance.

Improvement in competitiveness is a multi-faceted task. To its solution are necessary (though not enough): more skillful foreign trade and more active economic diplomacy. Much more than that is needed, namely an over-all modernization of the production and sales mechanism which, on the other hand, requires more forceful developmental efforts and more plentiful developmental resources. However, it is exactly the relatively limited accumulative capacity of the people's economy which represents one of the greatest obstacles to the quick

improvement of our competitiveness. In addition, the uneconomical activities and the maintenance and furthering of structurally obsolescent sections divert a considerable portion of the investment capital from the processing industry which would, otherwise, be quite capable of an upsurge. The possibilities, modest to begin with, are indirectly further limited by a delay in investments cause by disorganization, by habitually overspending developmental funds and a whole slew of additional factors resulting in very low efficacy.

We cannot hope, in the short run, to achieve an increase of any consequence in the global accumulative possibilities of the people's economy. But stronger selectivity and an increase in the effectiveness of the investment procedure could, nevertheless, greatly contribute to the easing of current tensions. Selectivity, of course, is always subject to painful decisions, as the already committed moneys, in each instance, can only be "liberated" by a retrogression in the particular section. But such decisions must be made, because the longer we postpone the "moment of truth" the more painful becomes the solution.

In the last few months a number of supplementary government regulations have seen the daylight, aimed at bolstering the economy's structural adaptability. These measures which, by the way, closely conform to our economic mechanism and, in a certain sense, may be construed as the "forerunners" of a sharper structural policy, tend to serve the development of a more competitive and more efficient export trade. The competition system in export, the cumulative tax exemptions on export-stimulating investments and the favorite treatment regarding credits and interest represent welcome assistance for those enterprises which have definite and forward looking ideas for the transformation of their activities. For the fulfilment of their hopes they can now obtain even substantial financial support, enabling them to widen their developmental scope. On the other hand, there is little hope for those enterprises which would like to try to bargain with the directing authorities for the said advantages not in order to seriously bolster their production, but purely for the purpose of "making their life easier." (Unfortunately such tendencies exist -- and not just in one or two of the enterprises. That is why it is the duty of the directing authorities to stop such particular tendencies, because they can undermine the most important aims of economic policy.)

As we intimated, the absence of results has increased misgivings in connection with some of the essential elements of economic policy and with the moderization of the directing system. Again there are some who express the opinion that the Hungarian economy is small, perspicuous and therefore easy to direct from one central point. There are those who find it dangerous that market conditions tend to lend spontaneity to the socialist planned economy. One can hear advice to the effect that—since we are suffering continuous setbacks in foreign trade—instead of expanding the openness of foreign trade, we should curb it, that instead of export orientation we should switch to import redemption. Others claim that the prevailing regulations, which are one-dimensional, nearly undifferentiated, and contain a mass of all kinds of constraints, do not take into consideration the factually different situation each enterprise finds itself in; the overly budget—minded attitude of the financial regulations "put the squeeze" on the enterprises and will not permit them to develop any progressive technological ideas; the directing authorities follow the results

and with their retroactive interference play havoc with enterprise economies. And we could go on and on in this vein.

We cannot say that the above mentioned opinions are totally off the track in connection with the actual problems. It is in the interest of formulation, understanding and acceptance of forward looking decisions that one should, at times, evaluate each of the above enumerated problems and the realistic elements that find expression in them. Nevertheless, there is only one way to view these opinions: they do not offer a realistic program or viable alternative for action.

More Consistency!

Our structural adaptation to and joining forces with the new trends in international economy is conceivable only by a strengthening and expansion of our export orientation. And because—like it not—international value scales are transmitted to us via market conditions, we cannot put restrictions on these conditions in the domestic economy either. In other words: it is in the domestic market that we must obtain our training before we can hope to be able to compete successfully in the international arena. That is why one of the key problems of our progress is the development of market conditions. This is a multi-directional, complicated task. Among other things it presupposes a reform in the organizational and institutional aspects of the economy, more perspicuous financial conditions, and developmental, production and sales activities better adapted to market requirements.

Both the structure and development of market conditions received a central role in our accepted reform program, which we may certainly also consider the stipulatory order of renewal. But in order for this program to actually achieve renewal, we need more consistency and, at the same time, more practical action in the assertion of our principles. Politics and economy must better cooperate, because without solid political support there is a good chance for the economic efforts to run out of steam, while lack of success will tend to weaken the attractive force of politics. If, on the other hand, we manage to create the necessary conditions, and are willing to launch into action—even if some of our acts prove unpleasant or uncomfortable—then we may be sure of one thing: free from the constraints of a "full stop" we can, indeed, get started on the road to reform.

12759/13045 CSO: 2500/336 ECONOMY

BAKA REPORTS ON NEW DOMESTIC CREDIT POLICY RESULTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 May 86 pp 1,2

[Text] (Own information) (C). Banks with increased efficiency perform the tasks assigned them by the reform with regard to enterprises, becoming their true partners and watching over their management, said minister Wladyslaw Baka, chairman of the NBP [National Polish Bank], during the press conference on the 26th of this month.

Since the middle of last year, the heretofore rigorous policy of difficult credit, has been replaced by a new bank policy, adjusted to the requirements of improving efficiency. In the current year this trend has been reinforced. It consists of accessibility of credits for those economic units which operate in priority fields, and on credit aid to those which struggle with difficulties and do a lot to overcome them by themselves. On the other hand, credit restrictions are applied toward poorly managed, inefficient enterprises and those, which lack development prospects due to structural changes.

An automatic granting of credit is a thing of the past. Now credits are secured by appropriate contracts and depend on how well the enterprise is managed. The degree of financing of the credit with revolving funds and reserves of the enterprise now amounts to 36.7 percent (on a yearly scale it has now increased by 1 point). The participation of bank credit in investment funds is at the level of 32 percent, but it is divided very unevenly. In the financing of central investments, credits amount to 84 percent, and in the investments of enterprises, only to 15 percent. This latter index is too low. Why? The matter requires a closer examination.

In any case, in order to stimulate investments by enterprises, banks for the first time have come forward with an investment offer: the NBP published an advertisement in RZECZPOSPOLITA, encouraging credit for export-oriented investments. A very high contribution by the bank (up to 90 percent) in the financing of the entire investment, is possible. Low interest rates and convenient payment terms are offered.

In the current year, the bank policy has been consistently oriented toward actions connected with the execution of the statute on the restoration of the health of enterprises, and on bankruptcy. According to the new directives,

what counts are facts, and neither promises to obtain tariffs, nor efforts to obtain them (as often was the case in the past, thus hampering the bank's action) are taken into consideration. Now the bank's action has become more dynamic. One can observe an increase in the number of enterprises subjected to procedures (in various phases) resulting from the "bankruptcy" law. At the end of April, there were 310 such enterprises, out of which 127 are have been implementing programs aimed at improving the management under the bank's supervision, and other 110 are finalizing preparations for it. Banks have stopped issuing credits to 72 enterprises, and restored credits to 38 enterprises. Commission boards have been established and appropriate guarantees received. The threat of the loss of credit creates the greatest dilemmas in large enterprises. The Paris Commune Shipyard is an example. The resolving of these dilemmas requires decisions of importance to national economy.

The credit and financial policy toward the population at large also constitutes an important sphere of the banks' operations. The population's financial resources are currently at the level of 2 trillion 800 billion zlotys, out of which, 1 trillion 700 billion zlotys are in savings accounts, and the remaining resources in cash. At the beginning of the current year, this trend in growing savings faltered somewhat, but now the situation is improving. Taking into consideration three basic kinds of credits for the population, in the current year, for the construction of one family homes, 60,000 credits have been granted amounting to 1.5 million zlotys. From 1 July of the current year, the amount of credit of young married couples increases to 200,000 zlotys, and 160,000 couples took advantage of that credit last year. With regard to the third kind of credits, beginning with 2 June of the current year, the list of manufactured articles sold on installment payments is broadened, and the size of the first payment, in accordance with the postulates, will be decreased from 40 to 20 percent of the price. No changes are foreseen in the interest rates of the savings accounts of the population, which average 9 percent and thus are not low, stated minister Baka.

12270 CSO: 2600/483 ECONOMY

SOVIET HELP IN METRO CONSTRUCTION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 May 86 p 1

[Text] (C). The metro, currently the biggest investment in the capital, interests not only Warsaw residents, but also Moscow residents. This is attested to by articles published in the Moscow press. This interest results not only from the traditional ties of friendship between the fraternal capitals, but also from the fact that the Soviet Union is our most important partner in the realization of this modern investment.

In the last few days, the TASS agency described a further expansion of Soviet help in the building of Warsaw metro. Another tunnel drilling shield from the USSR, a third one, has arrived. Deliveries of the first Soviet cars for the metro, will begin in 1988.

It ought to be added that these supplies are the result of an agreement signed 4 years ago between Poland and the USSR, about cooperation between the two countries in the building of the Warsaw metro. The value of the deliveries has so far amounted to 14 million rubles and includes, above all, materials and specialized equipment. The exchange of experiences and documentation has also taken place. In the current year, besides the tunnelling shield, the construction will receive supplies of about 300,000 square meters of insulation materials, several dozens of transportation vehicles, and construction equipment.

12270 CSO: 2600/483 ECONOMY

BRIEFS

MLYNCZAK HOLDS ECONOMIC TALKS IN AUSTRALIA -- Canberra special PAP correspondent Krzysztof Mroziewicz writes: Deputy chairman of the State Council of the PRL, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, continues an official visit in Australia. He met in Canberra with the deputy premier of the federal government of Australia, Lionel Bowen. They evaluated positively the state of Polish-Australian relations. With Peter Morris, the minister of transport and aviation, T. W. Mlynczak discussed the possibility of an air link between Poland and Australia. Next, W. Mlynczak talked to Geoffo Binkowski, head of the industrial association, and Daryl George, head of the confederation of Australian industry. They discussed the possibilities and prospects of expanding the economic cooperation and trade. In the evening hours, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak went to Melbourne where he was met by numerous representatives of local Polish society from the Australo-Polish Cultural Association of Polonian travel bureaus. [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 May 86 p 4] 12270/12223

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS WITH CSSR--The economic cooperation of Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as other socialist countries, has been systematically increasing in the past few years. There are, however, many other areas which until now have been penetrated weakly or not at all, and which would benefit from a faster development of trade relations. possibilities of expanding cooperation between Poland and Slovakia in the chemical, furniture, glass, and light industries were the subject of talks between Edward Grzywa, minister of chemical and light industry, and Stefan Urban, minister of industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic, during the latter's visit in Poland from 26 to 29 May. Both sides are interested in expanding mutual supplies and chemical semi-manufactures above the quota of the yearly protocol in the current year. They asserted that cooperation could be expanded in the chemical industry, and that the modernization of the apparel, footwear, knitting and furniture industries could be accelerated thanks to mutual experiences. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 May 86 p 7] 12270/12223

RAIL TRANSPORT COOPERATION WITH PRC --Polish railroads intend to buy in the PRC next year equipment for the dividing station. There are also plans for the purchase of equipment for rolling stock repair and Chinese

radiotelephones. The Chinese are also interested in our railroad equipment. It is expected that we will sell to them equipment for the electrical heating of railroad turnouts, and for signals at railroad crossings; we will also sell them snow ploughs. These plans are, among other things, the result of the visit in Poland of Ding Guangen, China's minister of railroads, which ended on the 26th of this month. During his talks with the minister of transportation, Janusz Kaminski, the program for further cooperation of both railroads was delineated. For example, the ministers found it useful to organize next year a joint seminar for the exchange of experiences in the organization of the rail transport of coal. They also decided to expand the cooperation of railroad research institutes in Peking and Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 May 86 p 7] 12270/12223

CSO: 2600/483

ECONOMY ROMANIA

ROLE OF CEMA IN DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LAW

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian May-Jun 86 pp 185-191

[Article by Brindusa Stefanescu: "The Contribution Made by Intergovernmental Economic Organizations of Which Romania Is a Member to the Development of International Law Applicable to International Economic Relations"]

[Text] With international economic law considered to be a branch of international law regulating commercial relations between countries, in the broadest sense, through their activities and specific acts intergovernmental economic organizations unquestionably make a contribution to the development of this law.

As a founding member of CEMA, an intergovernmental organization for economic collaboration, Romania also belongs to a number of international governmental organizations for collaboration in individual sectors within the CEMA system, such as Interchim, Intermetal, the Organization for Collaboration in the Area of Bearing Production, the International Bank for Economic Collaboration, and the International Investment Bank.

Of particular interest in the context of our subject is the regulatory activity of CEMA, which exhibits a number of special features in comparison to other intergovernmental economic organizations (See D. Carreau, P. Juillard, and Th. Flory, "Droit international economique" [International Economic Law], Paris, 1980, pp 404 et seq.).

An organization for intergovernmental economic collaboration organized on the principles of respect for "national sovereignty, independence, and national interests, non-intervention in internal affairs, full equality of rights, mutual advantage, and comradely mutual assistance" (see Article 1, Section 2, of the CEMA Statute), CEMA engages in no economic activities c its own and represents no single system of multilateral commercial relations among its members (The CEMA members are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, the USSR, and Vietnam. Since 1961, Albania has not participated in the work of the bodies of the organization). The aim of CEMA is to "contribute, by uniting and coordinating the efforts of the member countries, toward continuing deepening and improvement in collaboration and toward development of socialist economic integration, planned development of national economies, acceleration of economic and technical progress in the member countries, elevation of the

level of industrialization of the less developed countries, continuing increase in labor productivity, and steady improvement in the welfare of the peoples of the member countries" (See Article 1, Section 1, of the CEMA Statute).

Within these limits, CEMA as an intergovernmental economic organization contributes toward the development of international economic law both by encouraging the conclusion of international conventions between the member countries relating to the area of mutual economic relations and by promulgating its own documents drawn up by its organs.

- A. In connection with the first method, a distinction may be made between conventional bilateral activities conducted by the member countries on the basis of prior realization of the principal form of intergovernmental collaboration within the framework of CEMA, that is, coordination of the national economic plans of the participants, and multilateral activities.
- A.1. On the basis of coordination of national economic plans carried out at the level of the CEMA organs, the member countries are then able to conclude among themselves long-term economic agreements or annual protocols establishing the volume of bilateral trade along with production cooperation activities. At the same time, coordination represents the starting point for international trade contracts to be concluded among specially authorized foreign trade enterprises of the member countries.

Long-term bilateral economic agreements represent the most suitable legal means for establishment and development of norms of international economic law harmoniously combining the demands of international economic collaboration with the requirement of full respect for sovereignty and mutual advantage. These agreements involve respect by the countries party to the agreements for the principles of international economic law and establish mutual governmental obligations in promoting trade in goods or services, or different forms of cooperation in the area of production, marketing, The specific clauses contained in these agreements explicitly or implicitly reinforce the principle of reciprocity, recognition of equality of the legislation of the two contracting parties, or the most favored nation clause, etc. The bilateral economic agreements concerned unquestionably include norms of international economic law rather than norms of international trade law; they do not bring about uniformity or unification of the norms of conflictual law or material law applicable to international trade contracts. However, they often do bring about uniformity of norms of administrative, financial, foreign exchange, and customs law applicable to the same contracts. Noteworthy among such bilateral agreements are ones for promotion and guarantee of investments. Such agreements tend, on the basis of reciprocity, simultaneously to stimulate investment by one contracting country in another and to guarantee recovery of such investment in the case of any non-commercial risks.

A.2. Consequently, a number of multilateral international conventions have been concluded under CEMA auspices between member countries to regulate economic areas of the mutual relations of these countries or to render uniform the norms of conflictual or material law applicable to international trade relations. We may cite as examples conventions to which Romania is a party and which are now in effect, such as the convention on

settlement by arbitration of civil suits arising in connection with economic activities and cooperation (Moscow, 1972), the convention on legal protection of inventions, production prototypes, registered designs, or trademarks created in economic and technical-scientific cooperation (Moscow, 1973), the convention on avoidance of double taxation of the income and assets of legal entities (Ulan Bator, 1978), and the convention on avoidance of double taxation of the income and assets of natural persons (Miskolc, 1977).

Simple examination of the preambles of these conventions reveals that, along with unification of conflictual law solutions, the object of the conventions is assumption by the contracting countries of specific mutual obligations intended to contribute to "creation of the most suitable legal conditions for further realization and deepening of economic and technical-scientific cooperation."

A.3. One important category of conventions contributing to the development of international economic law is represented by conventions concluded by the CEMA with countries outside the organization which establish the legal framework for conduct of economic cooperation ultimately between these countries and the CEMA member countries. Such is the case, for example, of the convention concluded with Yugoslavia in 1964 concerning participation by the latter in the activities of CEMA organs, or the conventions concluded in 1973 (in Moscow) with Finland, in 1979 with Iraq, in 1979 with Mexico, in 1984 with Nicaragua, and in 1985 with Mozambique to regulate the conditions of cooperation between these countries and CEMA. Mention may be made in the same category of the conventions concluded by CEMA with other international economic organizations and establishing the legal framework of cooperation with these organizations. We may cite as an example the convention concluded with AIEA at Vienna in 1978.

While the convention concluded with Yugoslavia in 1964 concerned further development of economic collaboration and broadening of the areas of common interest of economic cooperation with CEMA member countries on the basis of respect for the principles of "full equality of rights, sovereignty, national interests, and mutual advantage," establishing for this purpose the spheres of economic cooperation and the terms of Yugoslav participation in the activities of CEMA organs, in specific forms of cooperation existing within the framework of the organization, and in preparation and application of CEMA documents, the other conventions signed with Finland, Mexico, Iraq, Nicaragua, and Mozambique are less comprehensive. While confirming the principles and norms of international law, the latter reaffirm respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different sociopolitical systems, for the charter of economic rights and obligations of countries, and, on the basis of the desire of the CEMA countries to develop mutually advantageous economic and technical-scientific cooperation with capitalist countries in order to speed up economic and technical progress, they establish the terms and ways and means of participation by the contracting countries in the activities of the organization and in application of specific forms of cooperation in production. The conventions in question in fact establish the general legal framework for mutually advantageous mutual economic and technical-scientific cooperation between CEMA member countries and the joint contracting country, especially in the sphere of production, science, and technology, each convention separately creating

a cooperation commission made up of representatives of all the countries party to the particular convention and making decisions concerning organizational and procedural problems and recommendations to the countries involved in problems of economic and technical-scientific cooperation, these recommendations to be incorporated in bilateral or multilateral agreements concluded between the countries involved.

B. We believe that a contribution to the development of international economic law, just as interesting from the viewpoint of method as it is important, is made by the documents adopted within the framework of CEMA.

In accordance with its statute (Article 4), CEMA adopts resolutions, recommendations, and understandings.

- B.1. Resolutions are adopted in connection with organizational and procedural problems. They generally enter into effect on the day of signing of the minutes of the meeting at which they are adopted and do not directly affect the economic relations of the member countries.
- B.2. Recommendations are adopted in connection with fundamental problems of economic and technical-scientific collaboration between the member countries and contribute indirectly, through the national legislation of the countries, to the development of international economic law.

Recommendations are adopted by unanimous vote of the member countries concerned and are not per se mandatory; they acquire compulsory legal force only after they have been accepted in the internal legal system of the member countries concerned in accordance with the specific constitutional procedure of each country. As a general rule, the recommendations are ratified in Romania. Unification of the norms of material and conflictual law regulating important international commercial relations among the CEMA member countries has been accomplished in this way. Thus, unification of the law applicable to international sale of commodities between trading partners in the CEMA member countries was realized through the general terms of supply of goods between organizations (enterprises) of the CEMA member countries established in 1968, with later supplements (1975, 1979). Uniformity of the law applicable to international industrial assembly contracts was achieved through the general terms of assembly and performance of other technical services relating to supply of machinery and equipment between the enterprises of the CEMA member countries in 1973. The general terms of technical assistance for machinery, equipment, and other products supplied between enterprises of CEMA member countries arrived at in 1973, and the additions in 1982, led to uniformity of the law applicable to international service and technical assistance contracts. Uniformity of the law applicable to international industrial cooperation contracts was achieved by means of the general terms of specialization and cooperation between enterprises (units, organizations) of the CEMA member countries in 1979. And while adoption of the documents referred to in the domestic legal systems of the member countries concerned has ultimately led to unification of norms of material and conflictual law applicable to legal relations in international trade, the recommendations made to these countries and accepted by them have resulted in confirmation of norms of international economic law. The voting member countries concerned have committed themselves, in the spheres affected by the respective documents of the organization, to take

the most suitable measures for achieving economic and technical-scientific economic cooperation among the CEMA countries, while respecting the fundamental principles set forth in the CEMA statute (see Skubiszewski, K., "CEMA and its Documents," "Annuaire francais de droit international" [French Yearbook International Law], 1966, p 560-653, and Wasilkowski, A., "Legal Aspects of Socialist Economic Integration," "Recueil de cours de l'Academie de La Haye" [Compendium of Lectures of the Academy of The Hague], 1971, p 336].

A substantial contribution is made to the development of international economic law in that the most advanced unification of law applicable to the respective international trade contracts is achieved among other things by the CEMA recommendations adopted by the member countries in accordance with the provisions of their national legislation.

A special position among the CEMA recommendations is occupied by the complex program for deepening and improving cooperation and for developing socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries, This program was adopted unanimously by the participating member countries at the 25th meeting in Bucharest in 1971. According to the final communique of the meeting in 1971, the participating countries "unanimously asserted their firm resolve to apply all the organizational, economic, and legal measures indispensable for ensuring execution of the complex program," which, according to the specialized literature of the majority, "is a document of the highest importance defining the principal ways of developing economic integration of the CEMA member countries, developing their production forces, and improving the welfare of the peoples of these countries. The complex program has two aspects from the viewpoint of law. As a document adopted by the higher organ of CEMA, the meeting, it is an internal document of the organization mandatory for the bodies of the latter. On the other hand, it has been approved by all the CEMA member countries, which have confirmed their resolve to take all measures for economic and legal organization which ensure execution of the complex program. The clauses of the complex program have thereby acquired the force of mutual international obligations of the CEMA member countries" (see M. Kudryavtsev, "The Nature of the Complex Program," STUDII SOVIETICE, February 1975, p 59; 0. Kunz, "The Legal Nature of the Complex Program," PRAVNIK, 1974, p 159).

The content of the complex program, a CEMA document, develops the principles and norms specific to international economic law, including for the first time at the level of collaboration among CEMA member countries the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, along with the principles of respect for sovereignty, independence, and national interests, full equality of rights, mutual advantage, and comradely mutual assistance. The complex program is the first international document which defines socialist economic integration, sets forth the specific features of this integration, and deals with the mechanism of application of the principle of interest in the system of decision making at the level of the organization.

B.3. So-called understandings between member country representatives are also adopted within the framework of CEMA. These instruments, ultimately adopted by consensus within the supreme body of the organization, that is, the meeting, are a sort of agreement in simplified form regulating multilateral economic cooperation problems among the member countries and which, insofar as Romania is concerned, become effective through ratification. And

these understandings, once they have entered into effect, contribute to the development of international economic law, in view of the matters which they regulate.

C. The activities conducted at the CEMA level in the direction of establishing so-called international economic organizations, that is, business firms, of the CEMA member countries also appear to us to be noteworthy as a contribution to the development of international economic law.

These business firms, which are civil law subjects of the country that is their principal domicile and are institutionalized forms of economic cooperation between the CEMA member countries, have been set up within this framework, being guided by the "Unified Standards for Establishment and Activities of International Economic Organization," a document of reference value adopted by the CEMA Executive Committee at its 74th meeting (see B. Stefanescu, I. Rucareanu, "The Legal Status of International Economic Organizations of the Non-governmental Type of the CEMA Member Countries," REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, 1973, No 2; B. Stefanescu, I. Rucareanu, "International Economic Organizations of the Non-governmental Type of CEMA Socialist Member Countries," "Principii si forme juridice ale cooperarii economice internationale" [Principles and Legal Forms of International Economic Cooperation], Bucharest, Ed. Academiei RSR, 1979, pp 136 et seq.; B. Stefanescu, I. Rucareanu, "Dreptul comertului international" [International Trade Law], Bucharest, Ed. didactica si pedagogica, 1983).

International economic unions, joint enterprises, or international economic societies, that is, the business firms to which we have referred, can be established, in the light of the document in question, either by a memorandum of association drawn up directly between the economic units concerned of CEMA member countries or by an international convention concluded between CEMA member countries whose national economic units are to participate in the formation of such companies, or, lastly, by a civil law contract concluded between the participating economic units on the basis of an international convention arrived at by the countries of these participants.

In the context of our subject, we are interested precisely in this method of establishment by way of intergovernmental convention. The statute of the business firm involved forms an integral part of the convention.

The business firms created at the CEMA level have thus far been established exclusively through international conventions concluded between the governments of the countries whose economic organizations participate in the firms. The international convention is equivalent to the instrument of establishment, and the statute approved by the countries party to the convention is declared to form a part of this instrument. Hence the international law provisions of the convention are also applicable to the statute.

By ultimately regulating matters in the sphere of international economic cooperation, to the extent of stipulating direct obligations for the countries party to them, these conventions unquestionably contribute to assertion, and even development, of international economic law.

To be added to the foregoing models of conventions for establishment of the business firms in question are the model statutes of such firms and the model

intergovernmental conventions on specialization in production, which are instruments adopted by the executive body of CEMA, that is, the executive committee, and are recommended to the countries concerned as being of value for guidance. These instruments are not, of course, mandatory, but when taken into account in specific cases by the countries concerned they become international conventions which enrich the economic component of international public law.

It is to be seen from what has been presented in the foregoing that the overall contribution made by CEMA, a regional intergovernmental economic organization, to the elaboration and development of international economic law includes as an essential instrument the intergovernmental convention, which may also be an agreement in simplified form, and insofar as the CEMA recommendations are concerned, the mechanism for putting them into effect also amounts ultimately to the procedure applied for ratification or approval of treaties. Consequently, every national effort toward elaboration of standards appears to be also characteristic of international public law, international economic law in our opinion being, as Professor Colliard also points out, that part of international law which is applied to intergovernmental economic relations (see A. Bolintineanu, B. Stefanescu, "Certain Considerations Regarding the Specific Features of International Economic Law and its Delimitation as Law," REV. ROM. DE ST. INT., March-April 1984. See also M. Virally, in "Aspects du droit international economique" [Aspects of International Economic Law], Paris, 1972, p 171; P. Well, "Le droit international economique, Mythe ou realite?" [International Economic Law, Myth or Reality?], ibid, p 34).

Moreover, when we consult the specialized literature of the CEMA member countries, we find the opinion increasingly advanced that the law elaborated at the level of the system of this regional economic organization is "international economic law" (see M. B. Boguslavskiy, "Reglementarea juridica a raporturilor economice internationale" [Legal Regulation of International Economic Relations], Moscow, Ed. Stiinta, 1970, pp 67-69) "which regulates the relationships arising in socialist international division of labor and in collaboration in the sphere of production of material and intellectual goods and in transportation, as well as in the sphere of international trade in goods and services" (see W. Sefiffert, "The Process of Development of the Legal System of Socialist Economic Integration," STAAT UND RECHT, No 8, 1972; "Theoretical Problems of Development of Socialist International Economic Law," STAAT UND RECHT, No 3, 1972).

6115

CSO: 2700/241

ECONOMY

MEASURES TO IMPROVE FOREIGN TRADE DESCRIBED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 22, 30 May 86 pp 11-12

[Article by Dr Ioan Georgescu: "Improvement in the Foreign Trade Mechanism"]

[Text] The measures adopted at the start of this year by means of Decree No 19/1986 to improve the economic and financial mechanism create big opportunities for achieving radical qualitative improvements in foreign trade activity. Right in Article I, the specification—which is now an integral part of the Law on the Planned Economic and Social Development of Romania—is made: "The ministries and centrals are responsible for the preparation of the forecasts for products and groups of products, which will indicate the directions of modernization of production, the foreseeable changes in the assortment structures, the prospects of renovating the products, the evolution of the manufacturing technologies and of the parameters of economic efficiency, and the possibilities of providing the technical—material base and of selling the products on the foreign and domestic markets."

The organization of the activity of technical and economic forecasting in the ministries and industrial centrals with a view to doing it systematically and at a level corresponding to the current stage of economic development is a condition for really substantiating their own programs for growth in the technical and qualitative level of production and properly defining the objectives in the export programs. The establishment of the two manufacturing profiles and, in some cases, even the three manufacturing profiles—a measure that, accompanied by suitable actions at an enterprise level, will provide an increase in flexibility in the structure of the supply on the domestic market and for exportation—constitutes, according to the law, a component of managing the economic units by means of forecasts.

As a complement to this provision, "the 5-year and annual plans contain the objectives regarding growth in the qualitative level of the products, operations, and services in accordance with the progress of science and technology and with the requirements of domestic and foreign consumers." In this regard, new indicators for measuring the technical and qualitative level of products have been instituted, such as:

The percentage of high-quality production in the total production achieved;

The percentage of products of a quality at a world level in the value of the commodity output.

The utilization of this better legal framework presupposes steady actions in all enterprises with export tasks to achieve the organizational framework for performing these activities.

The annual listing of the specialized export enterprises in a regulatory act offers to the management bodies on a territorial and departmental level the possibility of following distinctly the way in which the preparations are made in these enterprises for fulfilling the export plan. It is natural that when export production becomes the main orientation of an enterprise's production—the objective function of its entire activity—all the functions of the enterprise should undergo an adaptation, a channeling of the efforts toward attaining this objective.

However, the capacity to adapt the enterprise's structures to the new tasks that arise is conditioned by the training of the personnel in the enterprises. For example, in order for the enterprise's planning department to be able to establish the amounts of products allocated according to foreign clients, countries, methods of payment, etc., it is necessary to have economic and marketing forecasts drawn up for the enterprise's own needs and desirable for the enterprise's specialists themselves in the planning department. The technical department, analyzing the life cycle of the products on the current manufacturing list, can decide on the feasibility of keeping them during the plan period or on the replacement of them and with exactly which new products. arises here the substantiation of the decisions on the basis of technological forecasting studies correlated with marketing studies that would indicate the economic grounds for the effort of renovation and of development of new products. The export department -- a staff division of the enterprise specializing in exportation--is the brain of the enterprise's active strategy in developing the export markets, in adapting the supply to the world market's requirements, and in devising the promotional strategy, the entire strategic planning for mix-marketing. However, the transformation of the traditional sales department, having no purpose under the conditions of priority exportation (of 80-100 percent of production, for example), presupposes suitable training for the workers in these departments and the existence of a continually operating marketing information system. Similarly, the financial and accounting department will work regularly with instruments like the export-import balance of the enterprise and central, export operations on credit, instruments for guaranteeing and providing the payments, contracts for international transportation and shipments, etc.

However, the optimum use of all these instruments and the active position in carrying out foreign trade operations alongside the specialized foreign trade enterprise require theoretical training and practical experience. And, of course, this reorientation also involves the enterprise's other departments, such as the in-house laboratories for research and design on new products, the organization of production, labor, and management, etc. And so, at bottom, it is not a question of expenditures for supplementing the organization chart of the specialized export enterprise, but of raising the quality of the

activities performed in the production and functional departments to the standards of the international competition, in which we want to participate to a greater and greater degree.

Analyzing the characteristics of the current stage of economic development of the country, Romanian economist N.N. Constantinescu formulates some proposals with regard to raising the quality of economic decisions through the very improvement of the structure of the knowledge of the personnel in the economy, thus through the application of the provisions of Law No 2/1971, on the improvement of the professional training of the workers in the socialist units, by using the forms of retraining and continual training that we now have.

The following can be set down among the characteristics of carrying out the economic processes in enterprises that necessitate a qualitatively new approach, new requirements regarding professional training in the current stage:

The generalization of the self-management and economic self-administration of the enterprises, which transfer to a microeconomic level the economic decisionmaking of the greatest importance for attaining the enterprise's economic and social mission: the furnishing of products of a suitable quality for the domestic market and with competitiveness on the foreign market;

Our country's specific position on the resources of raw materials and energy and the necessity of utilizing through development of an intensive type our own resources and those procured through international trade;

The necessity of a multidisciplinary approach to the decisions of a complex type in the economy, simultaneously entailing economic, technical, legal, political, ecological, and other knowledge;

The necessity of participating in the world economic circuit with a competitive technical and commercial offering corresponding to the technological revolution in our times.

Starting from such phenomena, the above-mentioned study identifies a restructuring in the very knowledge necessary on different levels of economic decisionmaking in the enterprise, among the various types of knowledge: technical, economic and administrative, commercial, financial, and accounting, and guarding and protection (see the table).

If such a structure of knowledge is necessary in the current stage of development of the economy for all personnel in the economy, in the enterprises specializing in export production, which organize their production on the basis of the international marketing forecasts and programs, the capacity to decipher the trends and orientations and the various strategies on the world market becomes all the more the basic condition for fulfilling their mission.

Consequently, we are dealing, first, with a restructuring within the technical and economic knowledge necessary at the level of the various decisionmaking nodes and, second, with new requirements regarding the economic personnel and economists and, of course, also greater requirements regarding the technical

and management personnel. As it says in the above-mentioned study, in technical higher education the percentage of hours devoted to studying economic disciplines—about 5 percent of the educational program—seems totally insufficient with respect to the economic problems that are raised by the intensive development in each field of the economy and by the growth of each branch's amount of exportation on the world market. At the same time, new requirements are raised regarding the training of the economist, who ceases to be a post-factum analyst of figures, being demanded more and more as a specialist in conception and action who helps to devise development strategies at the economic unit's level or for products and furnishes innovative, far-reaching solutions that penetrate the realities of the world economy.

Table

			•	(in percent)
Positions	Knowledge Necessary			
in the Enterprise	Technical	Economic and Administrative	Commercial, Financial, and Accounting	Guarding and Protection
Worker	85	5	5	5
Section chief	50	20	20	10
Director	20	40	30	10
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Source: Worked out from N.N. Constantinescu, "The Economist in the Decision-making Process," SCINTEIA, No 13,399, 1985.

In a certain period, the task of promoting economic innovation in the form of marketing studies at the level of the industrial enterprises and centrals was assumed by the Romanian Marketing Association, performing an activity similar to that of the Association of Engineers and Technicians in the field of technology. The good results obtained and the existence of such professional associations and marketing consulting institutions on an international level, including in the socialist countries, recommend the continuation of the dissemination of marketing knowledge through such organizations with a public character.

The economists in our enterprises have—as we said—the task of preparing as early as this year forecasts for products and groups of products that would indicate the evolution of the technologies, the directions of renovation, and the sales possibilities and of evaluating the economic effects of such restructurings.

The calculation of indicators that refer to the world technical level presupposes that for each product of the enterprise there are files of technical and economic data on the main world producers with their technologies, products, and forms of marketing, the structure of the demand on the world market and its characteristics according to zones and countries, the trends in the world market and in the manufacturing technologies, the estimated life cycle for products and the technologies for achieving them, the forms of promotion used on the world market for the product, etc. In the absence of this information, the risk of putting unfeasible figures in the export programs increases, along with the ignoring of resources or ideas for new products with prospects of

selling. Indeed, the utilization of manual processing in the storage and analysis of such a volume of data can seem difficult or sometimes impossible to do in some enterprises with a huge list (for example, light industry). But the practice of enterprises like Masinexportimport, the Documentation Office of the MCECEI [Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation], and the MCECEI Computer Center shows that such structures of data and analyses are feasible.

We are referring here to the method of tackling the problems of documentation and not to the transfer of the tasks from the industrial enterprises to the foreign trade enterprises [ICE's], since this solution cannot be viable for various reasons:

The ICE's do not have personnel for following each product in detail; however, they can furnish valuable information on the foreign market to the producing enterprises;

The information needed for substantiating the enterprise's plans and programs far exceeds the documentation possibilities of the ICE's (aspects of technical progress, export opportunities for the enterprise, the technical capacity to analyze the foreign bid requests, etc.);

The scientific research and technological engineering institutes of the producer (industrial central, ministry) do—as a current task—extensive technical documentation for preparing the technological forecast for substantiating the policy on new products, which, supplemented with economic, market, and marketing studies, offers enough information to establish the position of the industrial enterprise specializing in export production on the foreign market.

Of course, not all the specific aspects that are furnished by the experience of applying the system of self-management and self-administration in the foreign trade field in recent years have been attained by means of the above-mentioned regulatory act, which involves the economic and financial mechanism in its entirety.

Practice shows that there are many enterprises producing for exportation that receive, for products made with greater exactingness for exportation, domestic settlement prices below those obtained for the deliveries of current series on the domestic market, including due to settlement at the planned level of profitability. The indicators for evaluating the efficiency of foreign trade operations are often altered by the method of setting the domestic prices (for example, the indirect deliveries for complex exports—of the greatest importance in the structure of our foreign trade—are made at prices above those practiced in the direct exportation of the same units, which apparently makes some complex exports unprofitable).

The exportation within compensation operations is recompensed by doing countertrade importation, with the supplier being credited in this interval under conditions of increased interest. The raw materials and supplies furnished with priority for export production are sometimes utilized in production for the domestic market, with the priority being invoked further until meeting the

entire need for raw materials. The more or less arbitrary recourse to the contingency funds for keeping within, as we have seen, often questionable efficiency indicators leads to the distortion of the economic analysis. The dispatching of the supply of exported merchandise through the foreign trade enterprises, the performance of invisible trade with services, the operations of countertrade and cooperation, and the operations of valuta and commodity arbitration—constant contact with the valuta markets and the markets for basic products—presuppose the existence of rapid telex, telephone, postal, and other communications of great promptness and with easy access.

As regards the observance of international trade customs, aspects that impede the promotion of exports also appear. We are referring to providing the possibilities of carrying out trade negotiations under suitable conditions, even when the foreign trade enterprise has been included as a headquarters within industrial centrals. The continual curtailment of the services that the Chamber of Commerce and Industry provides to exporters is, as a trend, contrary to the current orientation of world trade. Starting from the difficulties created by the crisis, more and more states are endeavoring to expand the support given to their exporters through:

The organization of international trade centers, with sections specializing in activities (supplying information needed for setting up the technical and commercial, consulting, contact, marketing, and design data banks);

The organization of joint chambers of commerce with other chambers of commerce abroad;

The organization of national programs for promotion on foreign markets, staggered according to forms and stages;

The organization of branches of the chamber of commerce on the territory (county seats) that would facilitate the direct contacts between the foreign partners and the producers for exportation.

It is known that in foreign trade activity it is harder to impose trade customs on an international level. And the international customs are for the business firms to establish contacts on the foreign markets through the chambers of commerce in the country and abroad.

As the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, indicates, the revolutionary approach to all the contradictions and irregularities that appear in economic life is of a nature to mobilize the energies that exist in the economy, to register a new qualitative stage—intensive development—in our country's participation in the international division of labor, and to secure the continually upward development of all branches of the economy.

12105

CSO: 2700/238

ECONOMY

IMPORTANCE, FEATURES OF BUCHAREST-DANUBE CANAL DESCRIBED

Bucharest LUPTA CFR in Romanian 25 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by Dinu Lazarescu: "A Grandiose Facility in the Making: the Bucharest-Danube Canal"]

[Text] In characterizing the recently completed 7th 5-year plan of economic and social development, the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stated recently that it was the "5-year plan in which the Danube acquired a new outlet to the sea, as a result of the opening of the Danube-Black Sea Canal. Even if it had been the only accomplishment under this 5-year plan, it could be said that our people still accomplished something truly magnificent."

Commenting further on this impressive result, the leader of our party and state noted in the report delivered to the 13th PCR Congress that "during the forthcoming (1986-1990) 5-year plan the Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari Canal will be opened and the Bucharest-Danube Canal will be largely completed" and pointed out that, in order for such enormous facilities to be built, the dedication and constructive enthusiasm of the people must be accompanied by the investment of substantial material resources, use of modern equipment, and application of the most recent scientific achievements.

Navigation is constantly active even now on the waterway. At the construction sites of the Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari Canal, all possible effort is being exerted to complete the basic operations in 1986 so as to allow opening of the canal this year. Working drawings for the new navigable waterway are already on the drawing boards at IPTANA, the general designer of the navigable waterway.

Large-Scale Construction

Construction of this new canal is especially important to the national economy. Aside from the fact that it will connect the Danube to one of the main citadels of Romanian industry, Bucharest, this construction will lead to comprehensive development of the entire Arges drainage basin.

"The finished design," we are informed by the chief designer of the Bucharest-Danube Canal, engineer Chiriac Avadanei, technical director of IPTANA, "is based on valuable guidelines provided by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in connection with use of the water resources of the Arges at maximum efficiency

for irrigation, navigation, generation of electric energy, supply of drinking and industrial water for localities and industrial complexes, protection of land in the area from flooding, and drainage of areas with excess moisture."

The construction of this canal involves participation by 28 planning and design institutes subordinate to 17 ministries and of central and by local authorities. The documentation that has been prepared relates to traffic on the canal, the cross-section, the hydraulic engineering system, quantitative and qualitative management of water resources, navigation clearances, the route of the canal and excavation work on it, locks, embankments, dams, hydroelectric plants, earth dump management, highway and railroad development, construction of bridges, electric energy and telecommunications grids, information flows, automation, dispatcher control, farm land administration, etc.

Field studies and prospecting, model studies and tests, hydraulic studies, and a large number of feasibility studies and analyses have been performed to solve the numerous technical problems occasioned by the building of such a project. The geological, geotechnical, and hydrologic studies alone are based on 1,396 prospecting drillings and wells, 643 of which were sunk along the route of the canal and 753 for work on the canal premises and in the drainage basin.

The Waterway

The total length of the canal is around 76 kilometers, including 70 kilometers as far as the Capital harbor. Beyond this point the Arges River will be trained and embanked as far as Ogrezeni. A planned part of this stream training project is creation of a large lake in the Mihailesti-Cornetu area. The minimum water depth is to be 5.5 meters, and the width of the canal bottom around 80 meters, it being correlated with that adopted for the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

The hydraulic structure centers are provided with locks, waiting harbors, a concrete high-water spillway, hydroelectric plants, and earthen dams connected to longitudinal embankments.

Bucharest harbor will be situated in the vicinity of the locality of Darasti. The projected traffic volume and the modern operating technologies were taken into account in determining the dimensions of the harbor. Wharves have been provided for containers, general cargo, ore, cement, chemical products, grain, etc.

Navigation on the canal will be directed and controlled by a central navigation dispatcher control office, which has regional dispatcher offices at each hydraulic structure center. Each regional dispatcher office directs and supervises navigation and collects information relating to its own section. It has radar, closed-circuit television, two-way radio, and other equipment available to it. The information reaching the dispatchers, in the form of video images, monitor displays, and synoptic panel signals, enable the dispatchers to make decisions which are then transmitted to vessels in the area or to work formations.

The water resources of the developed Arges River are managed through a central dispatcher control office also situated in Bucharest harbor and working in close coordination with the navigation dispatcher control office. The information system for water resource management also covers a certain area outside the canal, from which data are collected on rainfall, hydrology, the levels of the lakes in the tributary valleys, and the volume of water flowing in from the principal tributaries.

And so it is that Bucharest, the capital of the country, will in the near future also become a Black Sea port.

6115

CSO: 2700/249

ECONOMY ROMANIA

COMPLETION OF MIDIA PORT REPORTED

Bucharest LUPTA CFR in Romanian 25 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Maria Ghelase: "A New Seaport for the Country"]

[Text] The way to our destination necessarily passes alongside the new arm of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, giving us full opportunity to record a fragment of the epic of construction of another project of fundamental importance, the Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari Canal, and at the same time to observe the thrilling, impressive pace of transformation and renewal of places dominated only 10 years ago by the blue expanses of the waves of Lakes Sutghiol and Tasaul and by the Black Sea as far as the eye can see on the horizon. A new city has been founded, Navodari. There is an integrated enterprise here famous for the quality of its chemical products, the Navodari Integrated Chemical Enterprise. There is kilometer after kilometer of canal ready, after it is open to navigation, to facilitate access by the ships and barges which will more rapidly and economically bring in the raw and other materials vitally needed by the Romanian national economy. Then there is the impressive metal fretwork, shining in a winter sun reminiscent of spring, of the large Midia Integrated Petrochemical Enterprise. Stretched out beside it is the ribbon of asphalt leading to the port of Midia, the ultimate goal of our journey.

First of all, there is the impact of the world represented by this new maritime port of socialist Romania, a world conquered and created step by step, meter by meter, out of the "empire" of the sea, in which the builders with their highly complex and efficient equipment have become masters with equal rights. They have become beneficiaries as well, above all the major integrated enterprise that has given it its name. The work to be accomplished actually asks comparison with that involved in creating the large port of Constanta South.

The chronicles of the new history of the localities relate that, as has occurred with all the creations inaugurated by the 9th Party Congress, the epic of construction of this new Romanian seaport began in 1977, at the direction and under the immediate guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of our party, the visionary architect of modern Romania.

In the years that have passed since that time, the 100 builders who assembled to form the Midia Integrated Hydraulic Engineering Brigade have

assumed the highly responsible task of giving concrete form to this grandiose project, making full use of their creative potential, meticulously translating into reality the instructions and guidelines issued on the occasion of numerous working visits to the construction sites by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. They have progressively built nearly everything which is to be an integral part of the new port. First there was a breakwater 1,100 linear meters in length and another, southern, embankment measuring 2,650 linear meters. This was followed by a partitioning embankment more than 4 kilometers long, along with one for ammonia wharves more than 2,700 linear meters long. This completed the first stage of construction, the wresting of more than 40 hectares of new land from the sea.

These 100 men have been working with modern equipment: 1,000-ton-force rotary bridge cranes, 100-ton-force floating cranes, tugboats, 500-ton tilting scows, 500-ton stationary scows, a diver pontoon station, caterpillar cranes, a concrete station with platforms for making pier blocks and foundation stabilizers each of which weighs from 4.5 to 25 tons. To be added to this list are the high-capacity machines which assisted in hauling the stone and blocks from the Sitorman quarries needed for landfills and for building wharves and piers.

Slowly, as the embankments protected by foundation stabilizers advanced out to sea, the harbor basin was dredged with buckets and pressure pumps. Underwater rocks were cleared with explosives. Technical vessels and selfhoisting platforms were of great help in the clearing process. Piers were then built to a depth of 9 meters, either with simple concrete blocks and reinforced concrete shells weighing up to 100 tons, or with giant reinforced concrete caissons made on slips of their own and floated to their final positions. This new technology recently adopted greatly increases the prestige of the builders making up this large family in the Constanta Port Hydraulic Engineering Contract Construction Enterprise. The work continued with construction of the 300 linear meters of general cargo docks (now in service), 200 linear meters of ammonia docks, piers for ammonia containers (which have been completed), followed by construction of the Petromar embankment nearly 2,000 linear meters long and rigs for launching pipelines for drawing petroleum from the Black Sea. (The workers on the first of the 5 Romanian maritime drilling rigs have reported to the party leadership that their work is nearing completion).

Of course, the bustle and confusion characteristic of construction site operations have not decreased in intensity. While some of the facilities forming part of the Port of Midia have now been placed in service, the agenda of the port hydraulic engineers includes other facilities just as important (500 linear meters of piers for the local salt-water fishing base, cold storage plants, and all the other equipment required; dredging and development of the inlet of the Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari into the harbor; the ship repair yards, which are to have two 10,000 deadweight ton floating docks and one 20,000 deadweight ton dock; etc).

Everything that has been entered on the maritime maps of Earth for the port of Midia is a part of a project of fundamental importance that will make a substantial contribution to advancement of our civilization and country toward new heights of progress, following and giving concrete expression in our work and life to the instructions and guidelines of inestimable theoretical and practical value provided by the secretary general of the party.

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6115

POLITICAL ALBANIA

CRITERIA FOR ADMISSION TO PARTY REVIEWED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 May 86 p 2

[Article by Dhimiter Shandro, chief of the statute sector in the apparatus of the Party Central Committee, "In New Admissions to the Party Quality is Decisive"--Studying the condensation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's "Book on the Party"]

[Text] Among the key problems and one which figures prominently in the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha is the matter of new admissions to the Party. In almost 45 years of leadership activity and creative all-around activity Comrade Enver has continually spoken on this matter, has given direction, has made concrete analyses of the criteria and guidelines. For admission to the Party at various times emphases are given and attention is drawn sometimes to one problem and sometimes to another, but always at the center of all concerns stands a fundamental demand: the demand for high quality. "Decisive in the Party policy for increasing its ranks," underlines Comrade Enver, "has been and remains the quality of admissions."

In a Marxist-Leninist party which has hammered out a correct course, the quality of its members plays a decisive role in the execution of this line; its leadership role, its fighting strength depend upon the qualities of the communists. Such ideas are at the foundation of the basic documents of our Party, our revolutionary life and practice have proved these teachings. Led by these teachings the Party ranks have increased from year to year with young faithful and devoted elements, uplifted politically and ideologically, with a high cultural and scientific level, an example in work and life. During recent years over 80 percent of those received in the Party are from production personnel, workers and cooperativists and from the principal sectors of the economy. The educational level of those admitted has also risen further. This has made it so that in Party membership communists with middle and higher education number about 9 percent more than 4 years earlier. By such means the Party has increased and grown strong, its ties with the people have been strengthened, and its capacity for successfully confronting the tasks of socialist construction and the protection of the homeland has been raised.

Of great importance are the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha about seeing the quality of admissions as a dialectic unity with the totality of applications and elements who compose it, and as a comcept which evolves without interruption in accordance with the actual conditions of the Party organization, in close connection with the tasks laid out for solution in the various sectors of the economy and culture.

More than once Comrade Enver draws attention to the understanding and execution in a creative manner of the instructions of the Central Committee, which analyze in the actual conditions the basic criteria for new admissions. Since the Fifth Party Congress 20 years ago, Comrade Enver pointed out, "In such a delicate work as this the stereotypical and formal execution of established guidelines or rules is just as harmful as the tendency of anarchy and spontaneity, the elimination of every rule, of every guideline." The Party has always operated with this concern, struggling for these correct concepts in the top ranks in the basic organizations. This matter safeguards its present situation today also.

The Party orders that the matter of new Party admissions must be seen without formalism, they must be made according to specific criteria, while being oriented also to the actual situation.

Comrade Ramiz Alia in meeting with the cadres of Gramsh District said, "The matter of new admissions must be seen as part of a process and closely related to the tasks laid out before the Party at a specified time. Therefore we must be dialectic, we must pursue the development of life and respond to new tasks with appropriate and efficacious measures. For this reason the Party committees must do more skillful scientific work with the initiates, so that they correspond to the needs of the Party and the prospective development of the country. This is a creative work, for to strengthen the Party by new members you must know where new personnel are needed to enliven the organization, where people are needed to raise the aggressive spirit, where the cultural and technical level must be raised.

"The Party needs new people, new blood, but proletarian blood; it needs freshness and new thought, but freshness and thought which come from people devoted to the cause of communism, from revolutionary young people, determined to walk with courage the way of Marxism-Leninism, the way of Enver's Party.

"This must be understood well, because it has to do with the Party's future, something which can be realized directly in practice if sectarianism and opportunism are fought just like the mechanical execution of the Party guidelines, the specified percentages and criteria."

Therefore the few admissions from any of the sectors of mines or livestock are an expression of incorrect understandings and of the mechanical processing of new Party members.

A broad and indispensable view would not tolerate those practices when the qualities and characteristics of the person who is to be admitted to the Party are not seen in dialectic unity, but are judged in a subjective and biased manner. Rightly the criterion of political belief is looked at very carefully, and this must be done, but cases occur in which no equally careful evaluation is given to the qualities of the candidate himself such as his attitude at work, his character, behavior in the family and in society, moral image, individual qualities these which are decisive for the admission of those who meet the political conditions. The criteria which the Party has for initiates complement one another and, in unity, aim for the quality of the Party itself.

In practice it happens that mechanical and stereotypical understandings sometimes go so far that organizational secretaries or apparatus workers receive an application to enter the Party from one not having the necessary qualities and characteristics, but instead of telling him the true reasons, they use as a "Calming" reason the "barrier" of age or percentage guidelines. This is an opportunistic solution and evidences incorrect concepts, a lack of courage and patience to explain and convince people.

But mechanical and stereotypical concepts spoil things in a wider fashion. Present and prospective concerns require that we have a Party which is always new and fresh. This is one of the basic criteria for increasing the Party ranks, therefore it is intended and purposed that admissions be made principally from the younger ages, from the age of youth. But this does not mean that in order to be formally in compliance with the percentages and guidelines, some devoted and revolutionary specialist should be left outside the Party only because he is over the median age, and in the guidelines the tendency in some instances to admit immature youth of 18-20 years of age only to be in compliance with the average percentages is also mistaken. The principle is forgotten that, as Comrade Ramiz Alia instructs, in admissions to the Party we are doing politics and not arithmetic.

In the present conditions when middle school education has extended even into the remote villages. number of initiates who have completed this school is greatly increased. Nevertheless there are districts like that of Korce, Berat, Durres, Kruje and others which, despite favorable conditions, receive many Party candidates with 8th grade education. Naturally in remote and mountainous zones, in difficult sectors, such elements will be admitted who have all the qualities, but for different reasons have not completed middle school. Besides the exceptions in such cases as for age or for educational level they need not revert to the rule as happens sometimes in certain basic organizations and Party committees. The same holds true for social composition. The principle of the proletarian character of the Party is put into practice correctly when the situation and needs of the Party for strength are well know, when it is purposed to admit, with priority, youth from the ranks of workers of the more sensitive sectors of the economy. In Tirana, Elbasan, Diber, Fier, Vlore and other districts, the majority of the worker initiates in the Party are from mines and geology, oil and metallurgy, from animal husbandry and other areas. But there have also been cases where in some basic organizations such as those in Gjirokaster, Librazhd, Kukes and other districts, workers are admitted to the Party as workers where it is easier, from the auxiliary sectors and service fronts, from among those who are not distinguished for determination and spirit fo sacrifice in work.

The quality of initiates depends much upon the requests which the basic organizations make to the communists. When the communists make few demands of themselves and one another, certainly will make few of the youth who wish to enter the Party. The high individual qualities of candidates admitted to the Party must lead necessarily to an increase in the quality of work of the basic organization, which is demonstrated in its capacities to lead and direct with competence the problems of production, of education and of defense, in order to accomplish the tasks of the plan. No small number of new admissions have been

made these past years in the agricultural enterprises, the basic organizations are augmented with young communists in the sectors of animal husbandry (although the same evaluation is not noted in all the sectors), but their influence in the growth of the operational strength of the basic organizations is insufficient, so in certain of these enterprises or livestock sectors there is nonfulfillment of tasks. Naturally, other factors have an influence here, but the quality of the initiates plays a special role.

Our Party has its roots in the people and is nourished by it with new and clean blood. In work and especially in revolutionary actions and movements the qualities and characteristics of our people are evidenced in all their majesty. Precisely with these people the Party labors to arouse and incite in its ranks love and the desire to seek to operate aggressively. Every secret and sectarian action, as in everything else, presents an obstacle for these elements to come into the Party. This is the reason that Comrade Enver in much material of these volumes places special emphasis on the initiative of mass organizations, especially of the youth, to propose to the basic organizations of the Party the most advanced youth who deserve the name of Party member. Last year with the revolutionary situation which was created everywhere, an increase of the recommendatory force of the youth organization was noted. But this good experience must be further intensified. The fact is that recommendation for Party membership by the youth organization should not be seen as a formal act, but as a right and duty with much responsibility. The revolutionary movement "Flag-bearers of the Application of the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" and many initiatives are displaying the great values and new qualities of our people and especially of the youth. Precisely from those who are most prominent as talented organizers, people of sacrifice and loved by the masses, the youth organization must on its own initiative make recommendations to membership in the Party. This would also be one of the most powerful moral stimuli for each young man or young woman.

This does not hinder the basic organization of the Party in working face to face with people in ever more varied forms of work for admission to the Party. That also has its own anticipations. But it is one thing to anticipate and another thing to predetermine who should be admitted, as happens in some cases when the youth organization is pressured (and naturally pressure is not right) to grant a recommendation for this or that young person, or when the study and anticipation for certain persons is halted altoghter. Life has its own dynamic. People change and at given moments express their personality more strongly. Therefore the studies and anticipations of the basic organization must be discussed, corrected and supplemented by life. The duty of the secretary of the basic organization and of communists is to follow the dynamic of life and to know people intimately in daily work.

A deep study of these matters, just as the Party teaches, and the analyses which Comrade Enver makes in his works, indicates new ways and forces to continually strengthen the Party, to keep it always fresh, clean as crystal, militant and revolutionary.

/12232 CSO: 2100/47 POLITICAL

MINISTRY DIRECTORATES UNCOVER EACH OTHER'S ERRORS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT In Albanian 10 May 86 p 2

[Article by Sadri Rrahmani: "Two Ministry Directorates: One Uncovers the Violations of the Other"]

[Text] In the meeting of the basic organization of the Party to which he belongs as a communist, the director of the directorate of control in the Ministry of Energy, Fejzi Petoshati, expressed a concern, while discussing the tasks outlined in the 14th plenum of the Party Central Committee, among other things. Later, he made this known also to the leadership of the ministry by means of a report. In brief what was this concern? During the exercise of examination and review in the enterprises covered by the Ministry of Energy many violations are seen in the execution of the legal provisions, especially in the area of problems handled by the directorate of organization.

The execution of specific laws and rules is not an optional matter. The state plans, laws and financial regulations are the embodiment of economic laws of socialism, of Party directives and policy; therefore, whoever violates them has violated these laws and this policy. This the Party has continually emphasized and made clear to the cadres and specialists wherever they work and manage. In these conditions every relaxation and liberal attitude in this direction is harmful and to be criticized. So much the more when such phenomena are noted in workers of ministry organizations, such as are those cases about which the director of the directorate of control justifiedly raised his voice in the basic organization and to the leaders of the ministry. Here are some of these cases we are talking about.

Case 1. Two drivers were approved temporarily by the ministry for an automobile of the [expansion unknown] Vlore TEC [thermo-electric power plant], one of whom, although he was being paid from there, was working on the executive committee of the peoples council of Vlore District. But instead of everything being put in order and the responsibility discharged, the directorate of organization in the ministry moved this "cadre" from the TEC to the exploratory drilling enterprise. So now there is pay for exploratory drilling and as driver for the committee.

Case 2. Again, while monitoring the Mushqetase mine there came to light a violation of financial discipline in the matter of payments amounting to

3400 leks. The specialist in charge of the sector in the directorate of organization seeks to cover up the ambiguity in the interpretation of the relevant instruction by the abrupt order given to the auditor of the enterprise: "to make no delay about the amount in question because there has been ambiguity." And the consequence of this "ambiguity" would in this way result in damage to the state treasury.

Without describing all cases, for all practical purposes they have one thing in common: their origin is in the directorate of organization which Petrit Caushi directs. The documents which order the performance of these actions either are signed by comrades of this directorate or are conceived here and given for signature to other comrades heading the ministry. And as Comrade Pajtim Bello, deputy minister and secretary of the Party bureau of the Ministry of Energy indicates, "The problems raised by the director of control in general are valid. Although all of them have already been settled, they speak of irresponsible work of the directorate of the organization and especially of the pertinent specialist. Worthy of criticism is the fact that even after violations have been shown, no just and principled stand is taken on them. While criticizing these phenomena, at the same time we have learned lessons in strengthening further the cooperation (heretofore lacking) between the directorates of control and the organization, but also among other directorates."

Therefore, as it now appears, the problem has not gone untouched in the basic organization, in the Party bureau and the ministry organization. Nevertheless this fact does not leave them without responsibility. The violations we are talking about, regardless of the value of the damages they cause, do not happen on one occasion and on one day, but they constitute a trail, a tendency to concessions and tolerance to the detriment of the established rules and of legal provisions. "A tolerant liberal attitude," it was said in the 14th plenum of the Party Central Committee, "is to accept the correctness of the rules and standards of the society and at the same time to tolerate their violation." There is no other explanation why in more than one instance even when violations are obvious, the "ear becomes deaf," memos are written, contemptuous notes to the control are left, and the violations are defended, sometimes in the name of "ambiguity," sometimes in the name of being "generous" and open-handed with state funds.

Such a method of work certainly does not correspond with the duties laid out by the Party for increasing the sense of responsibility, of discipline and of supervision everywhere, therefore, also in the directorates of the ministries for the fulfillment of duties and the execution of every single one of the economic laws, rules and established standards. And here we refer not only to the directorate of control, which of course has a broader field of work and activity within the Ministry of Energy. But, as Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized in the 14th plenum of the Party Central Committee, "All the cadres occupied with the management and administration of production and with the execution of socialist legislation have control duties." The execution of these duties requires not only that the personal responsibility of every cadre and specialist, and every directorate in the ministry, increase, but also that the cooperation among directorates be raised further and strengthened. The problem is for them to operate always as a single apparatus, and not as happened in the particular case where although the two directorates are in one ministry, one makes concessions and the other monitors, one uncovers the violations of the other.

/12232 CSO: 2100/47 POLITICS BULGARIA

PRESS REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS SUPPRESSION IN TURKEY

AU222024 [Editorial Report] Several Bulgarian dailies have recently carried articles dealing with suppression of human rights in Turkey.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 5 July 1986 on page 4 carries an 800-word article by Stefka Purvanova, entitled "The Interrogators Maintain: 'There is Normal Death'." Purvanova states that "inquisition in the Turkish prisons has become such a mass phenomenon that it cannot be hidden or denied anymore." As an example she cites the case of Dzuney Dzanver [spelling as transliterated], "representative of the main opposition party in the Parliament," who had shown to the members of the Parliament an "electric device used for interrogations and read a list of 113 people killed by torture." Other cases of torture and death as a result of hunger strikes in the Turkish prisons are cited. Further on, she quotes Nusret Fishek [spelling as transliterated], chairman of the Union of Turkish Physicians, "the concept of 'normal death' does not exist in medicine." Fishek has reacted to the "apparent attempt of the authorities to hide the real causes of the death of 30 prisoners in Diabekir, namely, the unbearable conditions and the interrogation." Further on Purvanova cites various cases of torture and murder, based on the personal accounts of prisoners or "peasants who had been chased away from their homes." She concludes her article by saying that "the issue of interrogation has become one of the most burning issues of Turkey's internal political life," and by quoting the declaration of the "Leftist Unity of Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan" to the fact that "interrogation has turned into the offical policy of the state. More than 1,000 revolutionaries and patriots have been killed by the security organs by interrogation on the streets and in the mountains.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 10 July 1986 on page 5 carries a 500-word report of "BTA correspondent Aleksandur Vladkov," entitled "Torture and Murders." Vladkov's report summarizes the "declaration of the FRG 'Green Party' on the continuing torture in the Turkish prisons and the persecution of the country's Kurdish population and democratic forces," disseminated to the press by "Ulrich Fischer, spokesman of the 'Green Party' in the FRG Bundestag Foreign Policy Commission." Vladkov quotes Fischer on the "inhuman torture, beating, and murder in Turkey's military prisons, in which, according to data provided by Turkey's democratic jurists and journalists, there are more than 15,000 political prisoners." Further on, Vladkov quotes the part of the declaration dealing with the situation of the Kurds, which draws attention to the "mass arrests and murder in regions populated by Kurds, where a state of emergency has been called, and where the army is conducting a real war of annihilation against the local population." In conclusion, Vladkov quotes the declaration on the indifferent attitude of the European Council and West European parliamentarians to the situation in Turkey.

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 16 July 1986 on page 2 begins a 2-issue series by the "Kurdish journalist" Deldar Zana [spelling as transliterated], on the situation of the Kurdish population in Turkey. The first installment is a 1,100-word article entitled "With the Methods of the Inquisition." Zana maintains that the repression of the Kurdish population sharply intensified after the putsch on 12 September 1980. Since the putsch, military maneuvers with the participation of the United States and NATO have been conducted on territory populated by the Kurds, and "the Kurdish people became convinced that the main opponent of the struggle for freedom, democracy, and defense of the national rights is first of all imperialism." Zana maintains that the Turkish Government aims at the "total annihilation of the Kurdish resistance movement." Consequently, "hundreds of fighters for national liberation and peaceful citizens of Kurdish origin have been killed." He stresses the international protests against the persecution of the Kurdish population, and repeatedly charges the 12 September 1980 military putsch with exacerbating the Kurdish issue. The second part of the first installment is devoted to a historical survey of the Kurdish issue, beginning with the end of World War I and reviewing various international agreements, signed between the world wars, affecting the destiny of the Kurds. According to Zana "after 1970 the Kurdish liberation movement acquired a special upsurge, and as a result in 1971, after the reactionary putsch, thousands of Kurdish patriots were imprisoned."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 17 July 1986 on page 4 carries the second installment of the series, a 1,400-word article entitled "Total Negation of Everything Kurdish." Zana maintains in the beginning that "the dozens of governments which have ruled Turkey until now have always used elements 'Pan-Turkism,' according to which the territory of the Turkish nation spreads from China's borders and encompasses the entire Balkan Peninsula." According to him elements of Pan-Turkism and chauvinism are evident "always when the country is in a crisis situation." In this context he describes the plague of Turkey's Kurdish population, quoting statements of various progressive turkish politicians to the extent of the persecution of the Kurds. Zana maintains that "in order to be able to more easily find the Kurdish fighters for national independence, the Turkish Government has decided recently to evacuate the population of dozens of villages to western Turkey, and eventually to the 'Turkish part' of Cyprus, thus achieving a double goal." He dwells on the part of the military in conducting repressions against the Kurds. According to him the Turkish Government does nothing to develop the economic situation of the Kurds. "While almost two-thirds of Turkey's national resources are in Kurdistan, the poorest people live there." Further on Zana quotes data on the murder and torture of Kurdish prisoners, stressing that "there is hardly anybody who does not know about the torture which continues in tens and hundreds of prisons, and about the barbarous inquisition there." He repeatedly describes cases of cruelty, persecution, and murder, directed against the Kurdish population with the direct participation of army troops, stressing that "the oppression of the Kurdish patriots is conducted not only in the prisons but also outside the prison walls," the final goal being "the total annihilation of the Kurdish resistance movement."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 18 July 1986 on page 6 carries the third installment of the series—a 1,300-word article entitled "The Shadow of NATO Burdens Eastern Anatolia." It contains additional cases of murder and torture and murder, as described by witnesses, and as reported by the Turkish press. Mocking the press versions, which usually speak of suicides, Zana says: "If one listens to the public declarations of the leaders, one will

think that the Kurds do nothing but commit suicide." According to Zana "the intensified resistance of the Kurdish people evokes serious concern among Turkey's NATO partners." Consequently, they render the Turkish authorities assistance, "so that the authorities could most effectively deal with the Kurdish national-liberation movement." Zana maintains that the FRG will send modern electronic devices," which will be deployed in the border areas, and 48 helicopters, "which will be used in the Kurdish regions." According to him "dozens of U.S. and NATO military bases in Kurdistan are being used against the local patriots." He connects the visits of NATO military figures with the actions against the Kurds, and with "the attempts of NATO and the Pentagon to create a new aggressive military bloc in the Middle East, with the active participation of Turkey."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 21 July 1986 on pages 5 and 7 carries the last installment of Zana's series, a 900-word article entitled "Genocide Against Millions." The article describes the persecution and torture of the relatives of arrested Kurds; and points out that the persecution of Kurds is not limited only to Turkey's territory: "The government of Turgut Ozal often accuses the Swedish authorities, and the authorities of other West European states, which have allowed the existence of schools in which the Kurdish language is studied. The Turkish embassies in these countries threaten workers, whose children study their native language, that their passports will be taken away from them if their children do not go to schools in which the Turkish language is used."

Zana describes additional cases of torturing and murdering Kurds, stressing that "the Turkish authorities fully censure the mass media, so that the criminal acts of the security police can remain unknown." He denounces the name "Mountain Turks" which the Turkish authorities use to describe the Kurds, and promises that "the struggle will continue," and the Kurds "will not be deviated from their ideals of freedom, democracy, and social progress."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21 July 1986 on page 6 carries a 700-word article by Georgi Nikolov, entitled "Who Are the Prisoners?" Nikolov discusses the NEWSWEEK interview of Turgut Ozal, Turkey's premier, in which he is reported to have said: "There are no human rights' problems in Turkey and no political prisoners, but only 'anarchists and terrorists'." Nikolov refuses this statement, saying that "the entire world knows that this is not so, and also the people in Turkey. Even the Turkish press speaks of the political prisoners." He maintains that the Turkish authorities persecute the Turkish Communist Party and various "legal leftist parties and organizations, banned after the 12 September 1980 putsch." He notes that "the leaders of these parties and organizations are either in prison, or they have been imprisoned and released without trial."

According to him, the authorities persecute not only political figures but also "journalists, writers, and publishers," none of whom fits the statement of Ozal that there are no political prisoners in Turkey but only anarchists and terrorists. "It is obvious that for Mr Ozal everyone who speaks against the restrictions in Turkey is an 'anarchist or terrorist,' and there is no human rights problem! Does anybody believe?" asks Nikolov at the end of his article.

/9599

CSO: 2200/156

POLITICS CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STRENGTHENING ROLE OF PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATION URGED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 13, 1986 p 36-38

[Article by Antonin Kosina, CPCZ Central Committee employee: "Strengthening the Role of Basic Organizations"]

[Text] Fulfilling the tasks that are a part of the program outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress places increased demands on the work of the whole party and, above all, on the operations of basic organizations. [ZO] This is because the ZO are the first, most important level in the party structure, the component that brings the party the closest to the working masses. The more successful we are in implementing the Congress resolutions at worksites and residences, the more important will be the leading role of the party in society. The great ability of ZO to get things done is a source of power and authority for the party, a guarantee of its influence amongst the people, and of the fulfillment of its programs that have been formulated based on a creative application of marxist-leninist principles. The ZO, as the Political Report of the CPCZ at the 17th Congress pointed out, "...represents a sufficiently broad base for the activities of the party in all aspects of the life of society. Party offices must base all of their programs on this basic element of our party, and see to it that they are given more authority for executing tasks and resolving problems. We must therefore take steps to assure that ZO are not burdened with excessive numbers of often useless regulations, so they can conduct truly vital work with people." [Collection of the Main Documents of the 17th CPCZ Congress. (Sbornik hlavnich dokumentu XVII sjezdu Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska). Prague, Svobody, 1986. p 42.

The importance of ZO is rooted in the statutes which define the ZO as the foundation of the party. They serve this purpose mainly because "...they operate directly amongst the workers, bonding them to the CPCZ, uniting their efforts in the building of a socialist society. Within the realm of these operations, in direct contact with working people, the ZO actively participate in the formulation and implementation of party policy, organize and carry out all local political, economic and ideological training for the party. These latter tasks are in the forefront of worker interest and correspond to the objectives and needs of the entire society. The ZO are responsible for seeing to it that party policy is implemented through daily mass political work by communists amongst the working people, and for setting an example in task fulfillment at the worksite and for participation in public life at residential complexes." [Collection of Main Documents of the 17th CPCZ Congress p 216.]

The ZO are the primary organizational form in the party structure. Their ranks continue to unify, in a voluntary and very active group, blue collar workers, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and other workers, all of whom are highly conscious and committed to socialism and communism. They are the key element in the training of communists. Their main tasks include the continual strengthening and guarding of the ideological and organizational unity of the party. They also represent the critical and most broadly based source for the recruitment and assignment of personnel in all areas of party and social life. In accordance with the principles of democratic centralism the ZO are the starting point for the election of all party offices, serve as daily spokesmen for the general opinions of members and party candidates on important international and domestic political, economic and ideological is-They are the political core of work collectives, a role that they assume to the extent that they are successful in articulating public interests and linking them to the fulfillment of tasks at the workplace. All of the above combines to make the ZO the foundation of the party, with a role that no other element in its organizational structure could fulfill. There is no basic issue on which the viewpoint of the ZO would not be solicited, and in the addressing of which they would not participate.

The 17th CPCZ Congress evaluated the participation of ZO in the implementation of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. This evaluation turned up a number of shortcomings in the activities of some of them. It pointed to the necessity for continuing to pay attention in all party organizations to increasing the capacity for action of the ZO, since the ZO are critical to the execution of party policy, and to develop the conditions so that all members and candidate members of the party can participate actively in them.

Modifications to the CPCZ Statutes that were approved by the 17th Congress constitute an important precondition for further increasing the activity and work efficiency of the ZO. These provisions significantly increase requirements for party membership, and on the vanguard role that communists should play, as well as on their activity, initiative and the type of example they should set. They thus represent one of the most important factors for expanding the role of the ZO, the effectiveness of which depends largely on the quality of the members and candidate members of the party.

In these modified and updated statutes the Congress called attention above all to the responsibility of every party member to always act and present themselves as communists, not only at work, but also where they live. The statutes are thus reacting to the justified criticisms of those members who do not act as communists where they live, who do not explain and defend the policy of the party.

In conjunction with the important tasks involved in implementing the program of accelerated socio-economic development of our society the statutes define in some detail the tasks of communists in production. They are responsible, among other things, for working to develop production relations, getting involved in production intensification program and in programs for improving labor productivity, and for helping in the practical implementation of the newest findings of R&D. The statutes charge communists with improving their qualifications and implementing the socialist principle of compensation based on merit. Communists, according to the new statutes, are also supposed to fight against making excuses, bureaucracy, the violation of socialist legality, morality, and other antisocial phenomena.

Establishing the responsibility of all members for actively participating in the work of their ZO and bearing joint responsibility for the results of its programs, actively participating in preparations for and the discussions at member meetings, and seeing to the full application of leninist principles, norms and work styles in ZO activity is of great importance for increasing the capacity of ZO to get things done. This expands the potential for further implementing collectivity in organizational activity, for involving communists in problem solving, for the formation and implementation of party policy at worksites and residences.

Conscious party discipline is an important aspect of party membership. Here the party statutes emphasize the responsibility of senior managers to their ZO for fulfilling the obligations specified in the statutes and the tasks required by the job that has been assigned them by the party. ZO should deal with those communists who violate the statutes and socialist legality, after informing higher party offices. When a higher office accuses a communist of wrongdoing, it informs the appropriate ZO. The educational value of any party punishments that are levied is increased by the fact that the party office will reevaluate after 1 or 2 years the performance of the offender. In the event that the member has corrected his mistakes, a member meeting or the appropriate office can consider whether to remove the punishment from his record or not.

A prerequisite for the further improvement of the role of the ZO is the thorough application of leninist principles, norms and work styles in their operations. Attention must be paid above all to the application of the norms of democratic centralism, which is the basic principle underlying the operations of ZO. They are the source of the vital energy of the party. They unite broadly based democracy, a free exchange of responsible views, and strong discipline. This is the reason that the statutes emphasize that democratic centralism is the leading principle not only of the organizational structure, but also of all party activities. The 17th Party Congress added yet another principle to this group, with a resolution that the activities of all agencies and Zo will be governed by a collective attitude as well as personal responsibility on the part of every communist for the fulfillment of party resolutions. This generates the preconditions for the more consistent adherence to the principles of collectivity in leadership and personal responsibility above all in the activities of ZO committees. The application of collectivity in the activities of ZO also strengthens the right to elect from their members, candidates and from the ranks of the most active a commission to assist them in their activities related to the formulation and implementation of political, economic and ideological tasks.

A critical precondition for improving the role of ZO is the sophistication and quality of their internal party life. If this life is properly organized it facilitates effective ideological education and political organizing activities by the organization amongst workers. The full development of this internal quality and sophistication must be achieved before the organization, its members and candidates, are ready for the more advanced tasks outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress. Internal party work should never be for its own sake, but must help in strengthening the unity and capacity for action of the ZO, create the conditions for the ongoing improvement of the close ties between the party and working people.

For practical purposes, the principle of democratic centralism in ZO is implemented mainly at member meetings, which serve as their highest office, main forum for training, for sharing information, for education, the exchange of experiences and the mobilization of members and candidates. The thorough fulfillment of these roles requires ongoing increases in the quality and content of their discussions, and the specificity of adopted resolutions and measures. This means that member meetings should be devoted to pressing political, economic and ideological issues, serve as a forum to discuss short-comings and comments, make specific conclusions from these discussions, with recommendations for the future work of the organization. It is then necessary to acquaint workers with the results, and to monitor progress periodically on how communists are fulfilling their party tasks and other responsibilities set by the statutes.

The outcome of collective and constructively critical discussions at a meeting is a resolution which expresses the overall consensus of the entire party collective, determines its objectives and the further activities of the ZO. For this reason the resolution must be specific, clear, understandable, targeted, unambiguous and monitorable. Resolutions should assign tasks to as broad a spectrum of communists as possible and not, as often happens, only to the committee of the ZO or to senior managers.

It is not enough, however, only to adopt a positive resolution. For a given situation to change as desired by the resolution of a member meeting, concrete and daily political, organizational, and ideological work is required by the entire ZO, the committee and all communists. It precisely is in this area that shortcomings and lack of followthourgh persist; for this reason as well the 17th Congress emphasized the importance of the full realization of adopted resolutions. A fundamental precondition for fulfilling this task is to obtain the active participation and support not only of all communists but also of all work collectives.

The Congress included in the modifications to the statutes an important resolution mandating increased overall levels of preparation and discussion at member meetings. It provides that member meetings should be held as a rule once a month, but at least 10 times each year. The object of this modification was to do away with the previous practice under which some member meetings were held in a purely formal sense, with nothing of substance being resolved. This was mainly a matter of times when entire factories had vacations, holidays, etc. The rule remains that member meetings should be held monthly, while the mandated 10 meetings per year limits the number of meetings that may be had. The task of the okres committee is to evaluate as responsibly as they can when there truly are no reasons for having a member meeting. Based on experiences from regularly conducted member meetings at the beginning of the year which evaluate work that has been performed, outlines the tasks for the next year and fulfills the role of annual member meetings with the exception of electing committees, annual member meetings will be held every year with the exception that committees will be elected, as before, for 2-3 years.

To strengthen the role of the ZO in implementing the strategy of accelerated socioeconomic development, especially by intensifying the national economy, modifications to the statutes are being directed at tasks for the party. In line with more complicated tasks in economics, which is where the main battle front lies in the fulfillment of the Congress resolutions, these organizations are assigned the task of fighting for the fulfillment of the economic plan of a plant or an enterprise, the development of scientific and technical progress and the practical application of its results, for an increase in labor productivity, the quality and efficiency of production and of all work, the creation of the conditions for the further development and better quality of socialist competitions, and taking care of public wealth.

The critical portion of the work of every ZO is control activities. Their fundamental task, as pointed out at the Congress, is to increase the sophistication of these operations substantially so that they can serve to facilitate the timely fulfillment of tasks, deal with shortcomings or find them in time and eliminate them entirely, and to identify new phenomena which might have an impact on the fulfillment of certain tasks and which require a well thought out response. No one, no matter what his or her function is, in any sector at all can be immune from control. A compromising attitude to the violation of party resolutions, the failure to punish these responsible for not fulfilling a given task are all reasons for the low level of activity and poor discipline of communists, the low authority of the ZO and therefore the inefficiency of their work in the ranks of those who are not party members.

To further increase the efficiency of control activities statutes must be issued that extend the right of control to other ZO in agriculture, to all R&D institutes, to housing management, community services, to schools, as well as cultural, educational and health care facilities. Granting the right of control to these organizations will create the conditions for a strengthening of their role in implementing party policy above all in terms of the practical application of R&D findings, the assurance of training tasks and the education of the younger generation, an increase in ideological maturity, the moral character of the people, and in satisfying their requirements. It is most important to control how the management of a factory, enterprise or institution resolve basic aspects of development in conjunction with public interests. The statutes provide organizations that have the right of control the possibility at the same time of expressing themselves on the assigning or firing of senior managers within their area of activity.

Also contributing to a strengthening in the effectiveness of control is the recent increase in importance of those members entrusted with controlling the management of financial and other resources by ZO and adherence to the CPCZ Central Committee guidelines on the keeping of membership records and party administrative work; article 86 now requires that such people be approved at a member meeting.

One of the main reasons for the successful execution of party policy under the specific conditions of worksites and residences is the corresponding party structure. Practice has shown that dividing them up too much, especially by creating new ZO within enterprises and factories, which often happens because the work force increases, increases in certain okreses the difficulty of managing them directly and controlling them by an okres party committee. It has also been shown that this problem cannot be satisfactorily resolved solely by creating factory-wide committees to assist the okres committees in managing these organizations. Nor does increasing the number of activists help. We must resist too great an atomization of the party structure, make greater use of internal divisions into smaller organizations and party groups. Creating better conditions for this resolution is the objective of a statute on strengthening the role of smaller organizations, which can now be formed in all larger ZO. Okres committees can grant them certain rights of a ZO, i.e., hiring and firing members and candidates, meting out party punishments, electing delegates to conferences, and managing according to a budget.

9276

CSO: 2400/325

BERLIN WALL'S SIGNIFICANCE REASSESSED FOR PARTY WORKERS

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 41 No 14, Jul 86 (signed to press 10 Jul 86) pp 537-539

[Article by Prof Kurt Tiedke, member of the SED Central Committee, rector of the "Karl Marx" Party College of the SED Central Committee: "The Measures of 13 August 1961 Strengthened Socialism and Secured Peace"]

[Text] On 13 August, it will be the 25th anniversary of the date on which, in accordance with a decision of the Warsaw Pact countries, a new order was introduced on the border around West Berlin. This new order provided reliable control (of the border), and blocked the path of imperialistic subversive activities against the nations of the socialist community.

Erich Honecker explained what happened in the days of August 1961 and the significance of those events when he spoke at the Armed Forces Roll Call in (East) Berlin on 13 August 1981: "With the erection of the Antifacist Wall of Defense, we provided for the defense of the socialist accomplishments of our worker and peasant force and at the same time made a great contribution to protecting the peace. The 13th of August will forever be a day which marks the beginning of a new segment in the history of our Republic."

The GDR's protective measures of 13 August 1961, take a significant place in the struggle for peace. They insured that the peace, which was won at such a great price by the anti-Hitler coalition in May 1945, remained intact. As historical experience proves and the struggle of our day confirms, there are times in which the advancing forces must strengthen their efforts many times over, so that the work accomplished can be secured and continued. The summer of 1961 was such a trial situation for the SED and the people of the GDR.

Plans for "X-Day" Thwarted

The SED recognized in time that there was much at stake for world peace in the summer of 1961. Comrade Erich Honecker said at the above-mentioned roll call: "The most aggressive circles of imperialism in the FRG and in other NATO states undertook a massive attempt to realize their dreams of 'X-Day.' They candidly named as their goal the rolling back of socialism, the elimination of

the worker and peasant force on German soil. In their delusion they could already see, as they said themselves, the Bundeswehr pulling through the Brandenburg Gate playing music."

In July and August 1961, the psychological war against the GDR reached an unparalleled intensity. The Bonn government, led by Konrad Adenaur, proclaimed more and more openly their blitzkrieg plans and spoke of having to plan for a "Berlin crisis" in the fall. The so-called Research Council of the FRG for "questions of the re-unification of Germany" presented a detailed plan on 6 July 1961 which showed how the people's own concerns and agricultural production communes were to be turned into capitalist operations after this "X-Day."

All the imperialist propaganda stops were pulled out in the FRG and West Berlin. The agents responsible for the "de-recruiting" of specialists of the GDR, which had been practiced for years, expanded it to slave trade on a great scale. In addition, spies and numerous acts of sabotage came to the GDR—and so officials of Western secret services started a large fire in the Berlin stockyards on 7 August and Humboldt University was to go up in flames on 11 August. Border provocations, which were actively supported by official organs of the FRG, West Berlin and the Western Occupation Powers, were organized on a regular basis. In this manner, the GDR began very soon to feel the effects of organized imperialist state terrorism. Parallel to these provocative jabs at the GDR, which were to provide the pretext for an "attack" or a frontal attack, NATO was pushing through its military measures.

The imperialist adventurers misused above all the unique geographical and political situation of West Berlin with its open borders to the GDR for their intrigues against the worker and peasant force. With over 80 branches of spy and terrorist organizations and 66 revanchist and military units, West Berlin was built up as a diversion center. The open border was rigorously misused by "de-recruiting" of labor, by the illegal currency exchange, by the buying up of valuable industrial and consumer goods, by the drain on services and by other means.

The danger of a military conflict with unforeseeable consequences grew. It had to be decisively opposed. The time for action had come. For that reason, too, class-conscious workers and other employess called upon the Party and government to do everything to effectively protect the peaceful work and the socialist accomplishments.

Working from the joint decision of the Warsaw Pact states, the party of the working class directed all the necessary steps for the sure protection of socialism on German soil. The People's Chamber tasked the Minister's Council, in agreement with the demands of many workers in the GDR, with the immediate implementation of all necessary measures.

Command of the staff for this peace action was given to Erich Honecker. In recalling 12 August, he reported in his autobiography "Aus Meinem Leben" [From My Life]: "Late in the evening, one hour before the beginning of the .pa operation, the staff which I directed met in the Berlin Police Presidium... at

midnight, the alarm was sounded and the operation was begun. With that began an operation which caught the ear of the world on the dawning day, a Sunday."

A Hard Strike Against Equestrians Headed East

Factory militia initially took over the guarding of the national border along with units of the border troops and the People's Police. They put up barriers, which were reinforced in the following days and built up into the Antifascist Wall of Defense. Uncontrolled trade from West Berlin into the capital of the GDR and vice versa was interrupted, and the S-Bahn and U-Bahn (interurban railway and subway) traffic which previously ran straight across the border was stopped. As is normal on all international borders in the world, border-crossing points were established and an orderly control was implemented.

The operation, which was led by our Party and carried out by the organs of the socialist state, went according to plan. Units of the GDR Armed Forces were prepared for support, the Soviet armed forces stationed in the GDR were determined to push back an attack of the NATO armies. It was unmistakably demonstrated that the sovereignty of the GDR and the inviolability of its borders was protected with the entire force of the Warsaw Pact in a collective action.

This important border, the dividing line between socialist and capitalist Europe, was brought under reliable control. And so 13 August became a black day for the equestrians riding east. It was made clear once and for all that the German Democratic Republic is a cornerstone of peace in Europe. The defensive measures of 13 August completely fell within the duty of the GDR to insure that war would never again begin from German soil.

The 13th of August hit hard at those who were whipping up the Cold War. For the first time in its history, which is rich in aggression, German imperialism was struck down before it could hurl the already raised war torch. Other than the founding of the GDR, this was the worst setback the advocates of the strategy of "roll-back" had ever had. For the forces of peace, however, it was a decisive victory.

From the first day on, many workers and other employees from all corners of the republic gave a clear response to the enemies of socialism. They supported the measures of 13 August with additional services. The work places of the factory militiamen, who were deployed in the thousands, were covered by employees who broke off their vacations and placed themselves at the disposal of their factories. Work brigades took over the work of the colleagues who had guard duty on the border. In Cable Factory Oberspree, the Television Factory, indeed in almost all factories in the capital city, directors and technicians worked 36 hours and longer. And so it was impressively demonstrated that the working class, the farmers, and the members of the intelligentsia were all prepared to overcome the damage of yearlong imperialist plundering of the GDR, with their additional efforts and with personal sacrifice.

The workers had a great sense of satisfaction that the acute danger for peace was dispelled and the raid, which was run by the enemies of socialism against us by way of the open border, was ended. The initiative of the Berlin-Lichtenberg electric company coal workers for a special production effort was certainly the most important response of the working class and the allied classes and groups on that 13th of August.

The development of the GDR received a strong boost. The workers of our land adopted a daily agenda for general strengthening of socialism. Without interruption and with the summoning of all forces, the effects of the imperialist plundering were overcome. At its 8th Party Congress, the SED could assign the task of creating the developed socialist society in the GDR, and a policy was introduced which was and is aimed at the well-being and happiness of the people.

The impressive accounting which can be taken by the 11th Party Congress confirms that the decisions of the 8th, 9th, and 10th Party Congresses were appropriate for the demands of their time, and that from them correct orientations were drawn. It also confirms that in the activities of our Party, word and deed represented a unity. The continuity of these policies can be provided because the strategy and tactics of the party are based on a constantly thorough scientific analysis of all internal and external conditions of the [class] struggle, which properly comprehends basic developmental tendencies over a long historical timeframe. The successful development of the GDR substantiates the fact that Party and people, in close cooperation, have added new chapters to the honorable revolutionary tradition of the German workers' movement. Without the 13th of August, that would not have been possible.

Anyone who objectively analyzes the developments in the past quarter-century will come to the conclusion that the GDR's security measures of 13 August have made peace in Europe more secure. Not only was a ticking bomb defused with these measures, but a long-term trend was begun which led to the collapse of the Cold War against socialism in the 1970s and to fiasco for the imperialist "roll back" strategy. The Antifascist Wall of Defense in Berlin showed the ruling circles of the NATO countries the borders of their power. It helped provide many of their representatives a realistic insight into the actual balance of power in the world, particularly in Central Europe. This led them later to pursue a more realistic policy vis-a-vis the countries of the socialist community of nations.

And so, after years of tough negotiations, the GDR's security measures helped to create the "Four Powers Agreement" for Berlin (West), in which it was bindingly confirmed that the West Berlin sectors "are as before not a part of the Federal Republic of Germany and will not be governed by it in the future."

Embedded in a comprehensive European network of treaties, the "Treaty on the Basis of the Relations Between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany" could be signed. In it, both sides pledge "to settle their differences exclusively with peaceful means, and to refrain from the threat of force or the use of force."

In this treaty, both German states confirm the "inviolability of the border between them, for now and the future, and oblige themselves to unqualified respect of their territorial integrity." The high point in this process was finally the signing of the "Final Agreement of the Conference on Security and Cooperation" of Helsinki on 1 August 1975. This awakened the hope in the people for a durable peace, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament.

The joint declaration of March 1985, in which Erich Honecker and the West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl stated that the inviolability of the border and the observence of territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all European states in their current borders are basic conditions for peace, was and also remains of fundamental significance.

The measures of 13 August 1961 and their effects have proven themselves to be good fortune for the people of Europe and the world.

The SED unmistakably placed before the Eleventh Party Congress its overriding goals and the main directions of its international policy. Among them are: "persistant efforts towards the building of relationships of peaceful coexistance with the capitalist states, maintenance and development of pertinent political dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of generally recognized principles and norms of international law and mutual consideration of legitimate interests." Decisive fundamentals were laid for that, too, with the protective measures of 13 August.

13071 CSO 2300/495 POLITICS HUNGARY

DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY SANCTIONED BY WARSAW PACT CONFERENCE

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Jun 86 p 5

[Article: "We Will Strengthen our Country's International Reputation"]

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly had a meeting Monday in Parliament. As the first item on their agenda, the representatives—whose meeting was chaired by Matyas Szuros, committee president—in preparation for Parliament's summer session, discussed the report on the 1985 Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget.

Peter Kovari, acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, related among other things that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had transacted its business in 1985, as usual, in accordance with the decisions of the Party and Government. He emphasized the importance of making foreign affairs more efficient and striving for more rational economies.

The representatives acknowledged the report with unanimous approval. The acting Minister replied to the questions of Ivan Boldizsar (National List) and Janos Szentagothai (National List.)

Next a report was read by Miklos Barity, acting Minister of Foreign Affairs on the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Conference's Political Deliberating Body.

The call sanctioned at the deliberations—the acting Minister said—is a very important new initiative of the Warsaw Pact.

He emphasized that it is hoped that with our motions tabled at the present deliberations, we will be able to open a new chapter in the promotion of the European cooperation process.

According to the acting Minister, Hungarian diplomacy is largely responsible for and plays a major role in the world-wide dissemination of the contents of the documents sanctioned by the present Warsaw Pact Conference. In the name of the Warsaw Pact member nations—in our capacity as the host nation—we took charge of officially forwarding the documents to the governing and legislative bodies of all nations participating in the European Security and Cooperation process, of making sure they are officially proclaimed at the United Nations

and the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Taking the practices of the Warsaw Pact one step further—by mutual consent of its member nations—we will forward the documents to NATO and we will also deliver them to representatives of various regional political and military organizations. This is a good opportunity for us to step up our diplomatic activity and to strengthen our country's international reputation.

The proclamation was received with much attention and interest around the world. Statements by leading statesmen and politicians indicate that the proposals will be perused thoroughly. The fact alone that, unlike the negative reception accorded our past years' proposals, the West has not rejected this one, means that it will be studied seriously—may portend an important and favorable change, he said.

Finally, Miklos Barity emphasized: we trust that not unlike the Warsaw Pact initiative dubbed the First Budapest Proclamation—which was sanctioned at the 1969 session of the Political Consultative Commission—this Budapest proclamation, too, will be a significant landmark in the strengthening of our continent's peace and security and in the creation of a pan-European cooperation process.

Later Istvan Horvath, our Bonn Ambassador, in his report on the development of Hungarian-FRG relations, mentioned among other things that as a result of our traditionally good relations, the existing sympathy toward our country and our people and the possibilities stemming from our policies, the partner country devotes great attention to Hungary. The FRG is our country's number one capitalist trading partner with whom we transact close to 20 percent of our total non-ruble account foreign trade volume.

In his closing remarks, Matyas Szuros indicated that following the pattern of this ambassadorial report—the first of its kind offered the representatives on a diplomatic subject—the Foreign Relations Committee will, in the future, be kept up to date on our bilateral relations with various nations.

12759/12379 CSO: 2500/360 POLITICS

KOPECZI IN AUSTRIA DISCUSSES EUROPEAN TIES

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 11 May 86 pp 18-19

[Text of lecture delivered at the Austrian Academy of Sciences: "Trends in European Cultural Development"]

[Text] If we are speaking about Europe, we think beyond the geographical concept to the culture of this area. If we understand culture as not just a collection of intellectual elements, but as a value system defining attitude, behavior and life style, then the question immediately arises as to whether there exist and, if so, the depth of such values which have permanently characterized European culture.

Philosophers of history who have sought to define "Europeanness" have not had an easy time because Europe, even culturally, is a region of diversity. In the 1930's Paul Valery, in a work entitled "A Crisis of the Spirit," defined the European spirit as one seeking to maximize the use of commodities, labor, capital, achievement, ambition, power and the physical environment, as well as the formation of contacts and exchanges. At the first Geneva conference of world intellectuals in 1946 the phenomenologist-existentialist M. Merleau-Ponty held as a European value the specific relationship between man and nature, and within this relationship the role of science and technology, and of labor and the state as means for bringing about human freedom. It is possible to debate these definitions, but this is certain that, considering other cultural regions, in the European region economic, social and cultural progress as well as the rights and opportunities of individuals stand in the foreground, as does acknowledging the role of work, achievement, science and art. There are common features characterizing European culture and civilization which interlock the values of many nations. There are, of course, progressive aspirations which are always being hindered by obstacles of ideological and political nature. We know of numerous instances in European history in which the most merciless tyranny oppressed the individual, in which labor, science and art were made to serve reactionary ideas. Nietzsche, who abhored democracy, revealed this face of Europe as a possibility and as a danger; Fascism gave to this negative Europe its most definitive realization. Following this horrendous experience Andre Malnaux branded as "tragic humanism" a trait characterizing western European culture, and he attached to this the will of consciousness and discovery, the volonte de conscience and the volonte de decouverte. These latter traits resist resignation born of tragedy.

At that same time George Lukacs, on the basis of experience with fascism, ascertained the crisis in the ideas of democracy, progress, reason and humanism, and he proposed their reconceptualization through a fusion of socialism and democracy. Following this train of thought we must opt, when speaking about European tradition, to make choices based on progressive European values. For my ownself I consider as such a value the continuing fight for human liberty. This is a term which should not be unconditionally confined to intellectual struggle, although in the European past this has been its tradition. One of the enduring tenets of Marxism--as I see it--is its mandate not just to understand the world, but to transform it. This tenet does not spring exclusively from aspirations of the labor movement, but from the lessons of long European history also. Every new social formation looks out for itself. Down through the centuries it has been a common claim of persons to hold that, as inner conviction is not enough, socioeconomic factors also must be changed to attain their goals. I deem as a common inheritance the search for harmonious relations between society and the individual even when in this respect there are divergences in interpretation and a onesided emphasis of the concept of freedom and equality as determined by various opposing ideological and cultural trends. As a common conception I see the acknowledgement of labor as a necessity, and the honoring of individual and collective accomplishment, although the fight against exploitation has become a goal of the majority only in the last century. Finally, I hold as a common aspiration the respecting of reason and together with this the acknowledgement of the importance of intellectual, scientific and artistic factors, even when we find ourselves in opposition to another tradition which puts irrationalism into the foreground.

What is the cultural situation of Europe today? One cannot easily answer this question. It is difficult to find one's way through the diversity of the past. As a starting point we must consider that two social systems called capitalism and socialism have taken form on our continent. The two social systems condition two different kinds of orientation which naturally decide the prevailing thought and value structure of cultural life. In capitalist society ideological and political pluralism does not question the dominance of a perspective built on private property and which allows for class differences. At the same time it does make possible the more open clash of ideologies in politics and culture, at the present time primarily between the right wing, neoconservatism and the left wing if we are talking about politics, and between rationalism and irrationalism if we are dealing with philosophical and artistic tendencies. In the socialist countries Marxism is the ruling ideology; this however does not mean that other ideologies do not make their presence felt, especially so when tied to religious faiths. Therefore, here is an ideological mixture whose manifestations we experience in cultural life, in science and in the arts.

In this Europe divided into two parts there are global problems which indicate mutual interest. Such are the exegencies of economic-technical development, such is the acknowledgement of the role of science associated with this, such is environmental protection, such is the hope that we can create conditions for everyone guaranteeing the objective preconditions for freedom, for opportunity and for the realization of rights. Above all is the maintenance of peace without which not a single European country can safeguard its future.

Common features also appear in everyday matters. In 1983 a book appeared under the editorship of Jean Stoetzel which concerned present-day values. It bears the title "A European Examination" and, based on questioning 12,000 people in nine European countries, gathers together the most commonly held values. According to this study 80 percent of the interviewees regarded the family as a value, three-quarters found enjoyment in work, among political ideas first place was accorded to freedom by the French and British, and accorded to civil and social equality in Spain and the German Federal Republic. For moral values first place was everywhere accorded to fairness. Two-thirds of western Europeans believe in some religion; 40 percent even in paradise, but the authority of the churches is contested in many areas.

If we look at the sociological research undertaken in the socialist countries we can say that in the hierarchy of values mentioned above the family also occupies first place, the majority regard work as necessary, and as in western Europe many stress social equality. In respect to moral values there appear the contradictions of transitional society, as many would say, of value confusion, but the majority hold as their own the great humanistic values. To varying degrees religion has retreated, but to be certain, practices tied to religious faith persist in wide circles.

With this background in mind, we must address the status of intellectual objectivity, of science and the arts. Essential differences pertaining to the natural sciences chiefly arise from the philosophical consequences of their application. In western Europe the followers of idealistic philosophy often make use of the achievements of natural science for verifying the need for religion, and among those are even noted natural scientists. Marxists, however, expect from the natural sciences support for materialism, albeit not a vulgarized materialism. In this case, however, social formations, like intellectual trends, are in no way decisive; they exemplify most obviously the social sciences. In western European countries Marxism exercises a certain basic perspectival and methodological influence in most branches of the social sciences, and especially in history, even in those instances where the researchers themselves do not share the policies of socialism. It seems that neopositivism and, within this concept, structuralism too is retreating and that historicism and the search for synthesis is gaining general acceptance.

In the socialist countries the subject matter of criticism is Marxism's dogmatic conception. Turning back to the sources of Marxism, we are searching for new answers for new phenomena. At the same time a lively interest has appeared in western Europe and America toward trends and methods in the social sciences. Contradictions showing up in the building of the new society and in the search for answers to be given them have strengthened the societal function of the social sciences for the simple reason that, on the one hand, we have the emergence of a problem and in the formulation of decisions, on the other hand, we have the formation of the intellectual cohesion of society. In both realms the effect of the science of economics, sociology and law is asserted chiefly in the formulation of a perspective creating a role for historical and artistic endeavors. I have to note that, according to my own experiences, the place of the human sciences is more significant in socialist countries, simply because the arts themselves take up the function which is otherwise found in the ruling circles of capitalist countries.

This issue spills over into the area of literature and the arts. In eastern Europe historical development has resulted in literature especially, but at times other artistic branches as well, directly undertaking political tasks. Continuing this tradition after 1945, and supporting Lenin's expressed theory about cultural revolution, writers, artists and politicians--and not just communists--have held the opinion that culture and within that art could extend direct assistance to the building of the new society. An erroneous understanding of the precedents mentioned here contributed in no small way to the formation of the dogmatic theory and practice which sought to put art at the service of everyday politics. Over the past thirty years socialist countries, to varying degrees and by various means, have taken away this semantic, and today there is wide acceptance of the proposition that the arts should serve the awakening of human self-consciousness particularly in the long run, and not assist social progress in the short run. In the first place realistic tendencies are asserting the validity of the interpretive function of art. There is even continuity in the revolutionary avantgarde's seeking to influence matters more directly. Formal experiments have been initiated and there are neo-avantgarde and even postmodern adherants. Diversity holds sway, therefore, and is preparing a new path for art.

In western Europe after 1948, but more forcefully since the beginning of this century, certain tendencies have stressed art for art's sake, and experimentation has come to the foreground especially in painting and music. In spite of this in the first half of the century—chiefly in literature—the tradition of humanistic realism continued to live and rejuvenate, and it served a similar function later in the appearance of existentialism.

After the Second World War in the West free-spirited art preferred the various manifestations of avantgarde. After much experimentation it seems today that the arts have found their place there, and the influence of free-spirited art has retreated into the background.

Two decades ago Ernst Fischer spoke on "indispensable" art. The issue is whether in fact in our own time art is indispensable, and what kind of art this would be. One must search jointly for an answer to this. Likewise, there are joint lessons in the majority's development of culture. It is common knowledge what kind of criticism the Fortfurt School and primarily Th. W. Adorno have for mass culture, which is regarded as one of the main sources of alienation. With the spread of new technical instruments, chiefly of American origin, many new genres of mass or consumer culture have taken form, and they are spreading out to the millions. Three decades ago the French sociologist E. Morin defined the main ideals of mass culture in the so-called "olympians," that is, the stars, and in the cult of sex and violence, and on this basis passed judgment on it. The issue is whether there is an answer—in the West or East—for legitimate entertainment demands, whether we can utilize European tradition in this area, and whether it is possible to count on creations which will radiate new, real humane optimism.

If we accept this very sketchy description of the problem, then we must state what we have to do in the interest of European cultural cooperation.

The essence of a clearly defined peaceful policy is the development of political, economic and cultural connections between the two social systems while still acknowledging that differences remain in matters of socio-political arrangements and perspectives. In this situation it is very important to get to know one another better and to get rid of old cliques, whether we are talking about capitalism or socialism.

Cultural exchange cannot rest on a Manichean world view. Such exchange is not apolitical (the necessary and legitimate intertwining of states well illustrates this point), but it is not necessary to make the situation dependent on elements of policy.

One of the great lessons of the Cultural Forum held in Budapest this spring was noticing the almost three hundred proposals coming from writers, artists and cultural experts of differing ideological background concerning ways of strengthening professional contacts, broadening cultural exchanges and formulating new bilateral and multilateral cooperative institutions on subjects which they regarded as necessary.

On the basis of these proposals I suggest the nurturing of the European cultural inheritance as a mutual task, and not simply from the position of acknowledging the past but rather because the present cannot be understood without it. In this respect the task is one of selecting and transmitting the values of not just the large cultures, but the small ones as well. Europe truncates itself if it becomes satisfied with spreading the culture of a few large countries or a region. This danger does not pose a threat to eastern Europe because starting centuries ago it showed an interest in western European culture. Western European centeredness lives on even today at the expense of many, and so it seems that neoconservative ideology strives to strengthen this convenient but simultaneously impoverishing tendency. This opening, which some persons in western Europe want to carry out and which would be acceptable only to likeminded eastern Europeans, is a great delusion. In socialist countries also too narrow a selection breeds onesidedness; we must be familiar with every value, but we will accept only those which we can consider our own.

I attach special importance to cooperation as a means for shaping the culture of the majority. In a conversation conducted in 1985 with Peter Glotz, the noted sociologist Leo Lowenthal rightly warned that a distinction must be made between new technology and methods on the one hand and mass culture on the other. We should not surrender these tools to "the enemy," and in this respect the intelligentsia has a special role which it must shoulder.

The noted English historian A. Toynbee, after reviewing all historical development in his great compendium, stated that the "best hope" for humanity is a policy of peaceful co-existence. He feared if the two great powers should not realize this, then Europe will sink back into a state of religious wars and that could lead to an even worse situation: the destruction of Europe. I feel that in this situation the men of culture must be alerted, no matter where they live, even when their views greatly differ. It was precisely in Budapest in 1936 that Paul Valery voiced these cautionary words:

"It is good that ideas differ contingent upon persons, eras, conditions and places, and that not a single way of thinking exists. Diversity itself is a natural and necessary precondition for vitality. Yet it is extraordinarily important that these valued nuances neither render themselves a barrier, nor foster isolation nor become impervious to exchanges."

The fact that no one listened to him does not prove that the French writer was wrong, and that we should not seek cultural guidances and opportunity for peaceful coexistence using other perhaps more effective tools.

/13045 CSO: 2500/333 POLITICS HUNGARY

SCOFFLAWS PROMPTED BY CONSTANT CHANGES IN LAWS, REGULATIONS

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 13 Jun 86 p 3

[Interview with Imre Markoja, Minister of Justice by Andras Deak: "Greater Enterprise Independence with more Legal Oversight"]

[Text] The laws governing the economy have, in recent years, undergone many changes and even now we are witnessing a revision of the regulatory process, of an adaptation of regulations to current needs of social development. This is all well and good. Yet, among laymen, the question most often repeated is: Will not the frequent changes in legal regulations tend to undermine faith in the stability of legal regulations? To what extent can we believe that regulations issued today will still be in effect and valid tomorrow? We asked the Minister of Justice, Dr Imre Markoja, to answer our questions.

Stability of the laws and of the legal system is, indeed, important and in the best interest of society, both with reference to the economy and to most aspects of social life, said the Minister. That is why we must, in drafting regulations and preparing legislation, always bear in mind the precepts of predictability and constancy. We would jeopardize the validity of the law and the essence of the legal system is we did not strive for this.

A Regulatory System Adaptable to Changes

However, the requirements of stability in the various areas of the law must be given an interpretation different from what is considered normal. Such an area in economic life is the regulatory system: the price, wage and income regulation. A striving for permanency in legal regulations is, of course, an important need here too. Undoubtedly, however, stability in this area can be only relative, because external and internal circumstances undergo fast changes and a regulatory system can only function properly if it directly adapts to changes.

I think it suffices for me, in this connection, to refer to external, world economic conditions, to changes in which we must react quickly—by modifications to the regulatory system, if necessary. But the relatively frequent changes in the regulatory system have, at the present time—beside the aforesaid general factors—a specific reason as well. As is widely known, the April 1984 decree of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in the interest of improving the effectiveness and value—setting ability of our people's

economy, established guidelines for the overall advance development of the economic system. This advance development updates all aspects of the economic mechanism and thus the regulatory system too.

A basic characteristic of the current updating of economic regulation is the fact that it is a multi-stage process. Changes—especially in the area of the regulatory system—are introduced gradually, because we can issue only rules and regulations for the enforcement of which we can guarantee objective preconditions.

[Question] In view of the enterprises' and economic cooperatives' independence and striving for self-government, how can the maintenance of law abiding be assured in the economy?

[Answer] On the basis on the amendment of the enterprise law, the majority of state enterprises became transformed into enterprises with self-governing managements which have considerably wider managerial independence than the previous ones had. Until now the ministries and councils could, in all sorts of questions, issue orders to enterprises, but under the new organizational form there are no situations involving superiors and subordinates, the enterprises decide on their own—within the limits of the provisions of the law—in questions of management strategy and tactics. The establishing authorities no longer possess their former so-called supervisory and controlling rights by which they were able to check the enterprises' activities from the points of view of economy and efficiency.

At the same time, however, the enterprises, too, are obliged to keep within the norms set for their activities. That is the reason why state control of enterprises is exercised by legal oversight—a new institution—which checks their abiding by the law and also the consonance between their internal rules and the by-laws establishing their enterprise.

For the performance of this new task, law oversight departments have been set up in the ministries. Their harmonious functioning is assured by a government decree in accordance with which the Minister of Justice is in charge of formulating legal policy for the coordination of their activities.

[Question] To what extent have the new methods of guidance changed the role of enterprise solicitors?

[Answer] In the case of self-governing enterprises, government guidance is accomplished via legal regulations. From the point of view of effective and profitable enterprise function it has become a determinant that legal regulations be correctly interpreted and applied which, at the same time, should bring about a change in the situation of the competent expert, the enterprise solicitor.

Increased independence requires that enterprises—within the extraordinarily wide limits assured by the legal regulations—regulate their own organization and functions in accordance with their peculiarities. Internal application of rules and greater importance of the legal regulatory process, of necessity increase the legal expert's authority, who takes a determining role in such activities.

Enterprise independence becomes evident also in that they can, by their own decisions, cooperate in production and service as well as in the exchange of material goods. In the organization of cooperation there is an increasing need for legal instruments, especially contracts; the solicitor's activities are a determinant in the legal and economically expedient formulation of the latter.

Laws and Loopholes

[Question] In many instances the tightening of legal regulations—taxation, social security contributions, etc.—practically force the small entrepreneur to try to find shortcuts and loopholes in order to realize an illegal profit. Is it possible, under such circumstances, to create conditions for honest enterprise?

[Answer] In my opinion there is no close connection between a tightening of the economic conditions of entrepreneurial activity and the tendency toward illegal profiteering. The latter is prevalent even if regulations are relaxed or are left unchanged. Some entrepreneurs are looking for byways and loopholes not because they must pay higher taxes as a result of regulation changes, but because they are greedy for more income. At this point I want to mention that ever since there are rules and regulations, it seems to be a natural human tendency to take advantage of any ambiguity or loophole in them. This we must expect and we must keep it within manageable bounds by legal means.

However, the creation of conditions favorable to honest enterprise depends only partly on legal regulations. Our job is to assure proper legal framework for the activities. But rules and regulations are not enough to make the market function, to have healthy competition prevail and to bring about an economic situation in which the entrepreneur's behavior is influenced not only by legal means and economic pressures but, finally, by certain human factors as well. Such a factor might be, for example, the entrepreneur's moral character, expertise, cultural background, etc., and on the other hand, the social milieu of the enterprise. In order for the enterprise to be honest it is also necessary that society condemn the tax evader or the speculator in the same way it condemns the thief or the ruffian, and that the cheating entrepreneur may not be able to count on any mercy either.

Consumer Protection Legislation

[Question] Under the new system of economic guidance, what kind of regulations will protect the interests of the consumer who is now more or less at the mercy of enterprises and what means will be available to him for their enforcement?

[Answer] In the planned market regulatory mechanism of our guidance system for the economy it is, from the points of view of economic policy and legislative policy, of basic interest that in connection with economic relations we should have effective means at our disposal to combat all forms of dishonest economic activity. That is what moved the National Assembly to write Law IV of 1984 proscribing dishonest economic activity. The law contains many regulations which expressly protect the consumer. Among other things it prohibits

any kind of deception of the consumer, especially deceptive advertising, misleading or deficient information, abuse of economic power position, merchandize tie-ins and dishonest pricing. The enforcement of the law is supported by wide ranging sanctions. Of these--in the way of a novel legal remedy--I would put public interest protection in the first place. This means that the National Council of Trade Unions, the National Council of Consumers, the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the national business federations of trade unions are entitled to bring suit in the interest of consumer protection. They may do so if the dishonest economic practices endanger a large segment of the consuming public and cause significant damages. Based on this legal remedy the courts may remand the scofflaw to reduce prices, to repair and/or exchange merchandise or to refund the purchase price. The court ruling is published in a national daily newspaper and this kind of publicity enables the interested consumers to assert their rights, based on the court ruling, against the scofflaw in spite of the fact that they were not parties to the lawsuit. In the final instance they have recourse to the services of the court bailiff in the enforcement of their rights.

12759/13045 CSO: 2500/359 POLITICS

TWO PUBLIC OPINION POLLS ASSESS PRE-CONGRESS MOOD

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 26, 28 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by POLITYKA editor, Jan Bijak, on surveys by the Public Opinion Research Center and by the Center for Journalistic Research in Krakow: "Meeting In the Biggest Square"]

[Text] I have read two reports on the upcoming Party Congress in the Congress Hall at the Center of Warsaw on the biggest town square in Europe. One of these was the report of the Public Opinion Research Center based on a poll conducted among employees of state-owned businesses. The other report was prepared by the Center for Journalistic Research in Krakow and carried the title "Polish Society Before the 10th Congress". It's author is Stanislaw Nowicki. These reports were prepared according to the rules of sociological research and portray the public's mood, expectations and opinions on the eve of the gathering of the PZPR's highest forum. I will use these findings for something more than a mere commentary.

These reports show that our compatriots better appreciate the party and its leadership now than in more recent times but they are still critical and sceptical. They recognize the importance of the 10th Congress but are still quite moderate and cautious in their expectations.

The report by the Public Opinion Research Center is fresh as it was written in June. It covers all of the impressions of recent events, the price increases and the propaganda campaign, all of which have to some extent influenced everyone. However, the report still shows the apparent divisions of public opinion into a powerful and moderate center of measured and changeable attitudes and the two radical wings, one of which is close to the authorities and the other, very opposed to them.

There was a clear and decided majority of opinion on one issue: the introduction was seen as a necessary measure by almost 65 percent of the respondents (more or less half of them answered "yes" and half, "probably yes"). However, opinions about the political processes of 1980-86 were far from unanimous. Among other things, the opinions were very diverse about whether the

lifting of martial law had led to greater worker and peasant participation in government and whether public support for the party had grown.

The respondents saw positive signs in the stabilization of the economy, economic reform (27 percent), political stabilization in Poland, the lifting of martial law (22 percent) and improvement in the public's standard of living (19 percent). Nearly 11 percent of the respondents did not see any signs of improvement and this group mentioned factors such as the economic crisis, a drop in production, inflation (40 percent), worsening relations with the West, the American restrictions (23 percent), difficult living conditions and a poor standard of living (19 percent).

The poll asked whether Poland is now a democratic state. An affirmative answer was given by 13.5 percent and more than 43 percent answered "probably but there are still certain restrictions on democracy". Therefore, a favorable answer was given by about 57 percent of the respondents. A little over 23 percent answered "probably not but there are certain areas in which democracy exists" and 12 percent answered "no".

There were also some questions about changes that have taken place within the PZPR during the 1980's. A little over 6 percent answered that they had seen a strong change for the better, 33 percent stated that they had seen certain improvements and nearly 36 percent had seen no change.

There continues to be a considerable diversity of opinions and no lack of negative remarks about the party. There were also a lot of noncommital but sociologically significant responses such as "I don't know" or "I don't have an opinion". About 35 percent of the respondents within the Center itself did not formulate any opinion.

The conclusion of the Krakow report was that about every 5th respondent expressed great faith in the PZPR Central Committee. This group was largely composed of party members, inhabitants of small towns and villages, persons with vocational training or primary education and older persons (40 and over). However, the relationship is not entirely clear. Another 20 percent made up of young people, inhabitants of large cities and persons with higher educations held the opoosite opinion. The report states: "The largest group of respondents showed 'moderate confidence' probably based on more recent assessment of the party. In recent years, the growth of interest in party activities has been most pronounced. Stronger public observation has not always led the party to the right conclusions and according to the results of the poll, PZPR members are aware of this".

I have only taken a few facts from this report. It is a large document and I have only described its broad tendencies. Considering the overall results, we can say that the report gives some cause for optimism. It is, however, important to soberly assess the public mood. Whenever the party's internal affairs are in good order, it tends to project its own feeling of welfare onto the public and that is an unforgivable sin. The party members that have in these hard years tried to do something about often hopeless problems and have acted in the face of great difficulty deserve recognition.

However, we must remember what was recently said by Wojciech Jaruzelski: "the worst is behind us but the hardest is still ahead".

Challenges

Before the inauguration of the congress, POLITYKA undertook a press campaign on the great challenges of our time. The editors invited authors that tried to write about the great challenges Poland and her ruling party will face by the start of the next century. No great and really important problem has been resolved completely within these 300,000 square kilometers of Poland. Today's challenges extend beyond the scope of any single state but are almost global in nature. This is especially true of the issue of peace which influences so many other important problems such as environmental protection which is becoming more and more crucial and foreign debts which are the burden of our and many other nations and which have recently become more than just a matter to be settled between the debtors and creditors. It is these issues that present us the most uncontrollable dangers and opportunities.

The French writer and politician J.J. Servan-Schreiber once championed this ntion in books about the "American challenge" and later the Japanese challenge. Today, the idea of these challenges has lost its regional character and now extends itself to the great problems of humanity.

Peace Above All

The world has become accustomed to local wars which have come to seem like an itch which is irksome but bearable. The fighting in Lebanon, Iraq and Iran show how easy it is to start a small war and hard they are to end. They also show how destructive such little conflicts can be. We are so afraid of nuclear war that no one ever considers one seriously. Everyone assumes that humanity has a survival instinct and that nuclear war would be mass suicide. I also feel that no politician could bring himself to start a nuclear war. However, when one reads about the Challenger or Chernobyl distasters, it is hard to avoid realizing how fallible technology is and how easily Pandora's box can be opened.

Furthermore, preparations for nuclear war and building up arsenals and weaponry is above all a gigantic waste of resources that could be used to much greater benefit to the world. As a state and a member of a military colaition, we too feel the great burden of these weapons. Our army does much for civilians, builds bridges and digs trenches in Zulawy. It places itself under rigorous cost-cutting measures but we still must pay for it or our armed forces would be unable to fulfill their principle task of defending our borders and helping the Warsaw Pact to preserve peace in Europe. The world can only be relieved of this burden once its armies disarm themselves on a great scale and the arms race is ended.

These are words well-worn from use but the greater the dangers become, the more sense they make as they also do in the opposite case when talks are renewed and new initiatives and hopes emerge. Even President Reagan who has so accustomed us to his outright rejection of any Soviet proposals, is sometimes

forced to see their "constructive points" and this in itself can lead to talks and even some partial agreements. The PZPR's strong trump is that it participates in a great movement for disarmament and creation of mechanisms for preserving the peace, a movement which has gained new life thanks to the initiative of the present leadership of the CPSU.

The Environment

Another great challenge of our times is protecting our natural environment and resources and preventing ecological disaster. It is a paradox that today's civilization which has created the greatest dangers has also offered us the greatest opportunities to counter them. It is said that people are again fishing in the Thames and that the Rhine's waters are clear once more. Modern filters can trap the finest dust. Poles have lived for centuries knowing that whatever else happens, they will have clean air to breathe, be able to drink clean water and have coal to heat their homes. This is something we are coming to forget. The Liwiec, which was once the cleanest river in Poland, is now polluted by wastes. The air pollution and smoke in Silesia is breaking all records. The expects are also trying to decide whether our coal will last us another 30 or 60 years. That is already common knowledge and everyone has their own opinions. Everyone is a doctor with the one true cure. However, not everyone is ready to admit that this costs money that must also be used for other needs.

We will still see more growth of nuclear power in our country. At this time, Poland's only nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec has stirred emotions and protest. Since the events at Chernobyl have so alarmed us, there is nothing strange in that. The Paris L'EXPRESS titled an article "Nuclear Power -- A Danger Forever". The International Atomic Agency in Vienna says that there are now 345 civilian nuclear reactors around the world. An American report presented in April of this year by Senator John Glenn of Ohio stated: "Between 1971 and 1984, there were 151 alarming nuclear accidents in 14 noncommunist countries". The Americans, who generate 15 percent of their energy at nuclear power plants recorded in 1983 5060 "complications". Most of these were minor but 27 of them could not be solved by engineers. A report by a committee of specialists states that "the risk of another 'flap' like that of Three Mile Island is about 50 percent within the next 20 years".

This brings us to the next gigantic economic and technical tasks we face. The world of abundant and easy resources is already gone. Much has been written about this but authors have concentrated chiefly on the economic side of the problem. They say that our products are going to lose their marketability and that we are going to forced to make costly and material-intensive products which consume enormous quantities of energy which in turn threatens the environment. It is also no less important that our technical backwardness may leave us out of contact with the rest of the world. This is especially true of computers and data-processing but we may still see new technology against which we will be helpless.

Finally, there is the fourth and no less important challenge.

The World Requires a New Moral Order

It is fashionable today to talk about human rights although everyone tends to talk about the ones they perceive to be respected in their own country and lacking in their enemy's country. This leads one to suspect that human rights are not at all a matter of principle but a political game. However, there are problems in the world today that must be solved through an international effort regardless of differences in political systems, religions or ideologies. Peace is a matter of supreme important as is respect for the sovereignty of states. This is also true of overcoming international plagues like terrorism and narcotics. To work together, nations must have honest information and accept certain elementary rules of international cooperation, some of which are already quite established but have been rejected. People of good will should work to see these rules regain their place in the practice of international relations.

I know that I am rapidly approaching the realm of wishful thinking and naive illusions but I am not the only one who feels this way. A writer from the German Democratic Republic, Christa Wolf, once authored a study in which she demanded that out of concern for disarmament, the morally stronger side should unilaterally assume the risk of disarming first. Without waiting to see if the other side will agree, it should disarm itself at once and set a moral example forcing the other side to do the same. This is exactly what we are doing. The Soviet Union dropped nuclear testing on its own and challenged the United States to do the same. It did not wait for a positive response from the Americans. This unilateral moratorium still remains in effect but the rest of the world has still not matured to the point that the sort of Utopia foreseen by Christa Wolf can be realized.

Can we ever expect to see things otherwise when moral pressure might be strong enough to have a good effect? Every ideology, faith and religion has a Utopia factor. Sober analysis usually excludes the Utopia factor and makes its unreality obvious. However, if an idea is beautiful and attractive, it will always pick up the masses and, as someone once said, become a physical power.

A special challenge is posed by uniting and disciplining the public to create a stronger state and a more efficient economy and to join all of the rigors necessary to growth with democracy, popular participation in government and the right to one's own views and act according to one's own conscience. States usually qualify the world democracy with an adjective of some sort and refer to their system as a Christian democracy, a people's democracy or even a citizen's democracy. On our part, we are trying to create a socialist democracy. We know all of its limitations but we are also most certainly aware of its advantages and achievements. Only someone fundamentally opposed to it might fail to see how much we have democratized our country. We now select our leaders more democratically, we are better informed, speak out more openly and have better opportunities for becoming involved in public life.

We have become quite accustomed to such attributes of democracy as a real rather than formal right to work, equal chances in life and the right to study which in the system opposed to ours is an expensive right. At the same time, we all feel that we still have much to achieve in democratic social relations, respect for citizen's and worker's rights, overcoming environmental barriers and in opening public life up to the layman. It may also be that after the stormy experiences of the last few years, the good will of our governed and governing

alike can still propose as much to the world as it has since the war ended.

Dispatch

All of these great and small Polish problems and these modern, historical world challenges must be taken up and resolved by the PZPR. The PZPR is a Marxist worker's party proclaiming that it is building socialism in Poland in partnership with the peasants and intellectuals whose classes form part of this great social alliance. This is not a party in a western system which gains and loses power with each election. This party has the ambition to guide the country through an entire historical period but the experiences of the last 40 years have shown us that regardless of its unquestioned achievements, the PZPR has not always guided the nation well and when it has made mistakes, the entire nation paid for them.

Some people talk about an independent society beyond the reach of state structures. They feel that what the party does is of no concern to them. That is absurd. No society can grow without a program, goals and political means of reaching those goals. This is especially important today and in Poland, regardless of any talent for improvization that Poles are claimed to possess. The crisis from which we are emerging, internal conflicts and debts all demand that we concentrate our efforts, clearly define our goals and efficiently use our resources. That should also apply to the party program, especially the portion of it outlined for the next two years. At the same time, more distant goals should also be clarified because their realization must start today.

The program, the draft of which was published and discussed, has already undergone considerable changes. The most recent plenum of the Central Committee approved the corrected version and this will almost certainly be adopted at the congress. The program and its themes were discussed in two rounds of party meetings. Experts were consulted and the documentation has been very solidly prepared. The program documents not only answer many questions that come up every day but also try to more broadly address the problem of what form of socialism Poland is trying to build, what universal characteristics it possesses and what is specifically Polish in nature. The draft makes statements important to our sense of what we are and proclaims that the party intends to continue taking the 9th Congress's path of renewal and social harmony. It will also continue fighting the evil that is hindering our growth as a nation.

Once the program is adopted by the upcoming congress, we will discuss it in greater detail in our publications.

Tables from Stanislaw Nowicki's report "Polish Society Before the 10th Congress", Krakow, 1986, Center for Journalistic Research.

The respondents selected three answers from the following lists.

Factors that cause fear and alarm for Poles when they think about the future in order of statistical significance in percent.

Poor upbringing of the young generation, have and take attitudes42.5	percent
Laziness and bad work discipline	percent
Growing debts and poor prospects for paying them off	percent
Growing social illness (alcoholism, drug addiction, crime)25.9	percent
Poor and rash decisions by the authorities25.7	percent
Drop in production of goods and bad market supply19.3	percent
Growing technical backwardness of the economy	percent
Bad will and hatred between people	percent
People losing contact with their faith and the church	percent
Neglect of the opinions and problems of citizens	percent
Return to anonymity of political decision-making and a turn away from self-government12.0	percent
Unfairness and growing social division10.9	percent
Abandonment of economic reform9.5	percent
Lack of harmony, dialogue and any genuine opposition7.5	percent
Lack of patriotism or respect for tradition and history	percent
Factors in which Poles see hope for a better future, in order of statisticance in percent.	cal
Good, selfless and honest work by all Poles47.3	percent
Wise and competent decisions by the government and other official institutions31.3	percent
Harmony between all Poles, national agreement, social peace28.7	percent
Social fairness and equal rights for all citizens22.5	percent
Concern for the people's living conditions and consideration of their problems	percent
Greater popular attachment to religion and the church20.5	percent

Modernization of the economy, use of scientific and technical achievements	percent
Good will between people18.1	percent
Increased consumer production and availability of the goods one wants to purchase	percent
Concern for the upbringing and education of the young generation12.7	percent
The paying-off of our foreign debt and success of our products on foreign markets	percent
Patriotism and respect for tradition, culture and history10.7	percent
Growing "moral health" of the nation and a drop in alcoholism and crime10.1	percent
Positive results from economic reform9.1	percent
Openness of public life and greater role of self-government	percent
Number of respondents	1300
12261 CSO: 2600/575	••

POLITICS

PRESS PERSONNEL CHANGES, MEDIA DEVELOPMENTS

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 4, Apr 86 pp 52-58

[Article by (K): "Chronicle"]

[Excerpts] 1 February. Tomasz Szymanski was nominated as deputy editor in chief of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA.

- 5 February. In the Warsaw Journalists' Club, the Polish Club of International Publishing of the SD PRL [Democratic Party of the Peoples' Republic of Poland], organized a meeting with Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jan Kinast, on the subject of US policy toward Latin America.
- 6 February. Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk was recalled from the position of editor in chief of ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY in connection with his assuming new duties as organizer of a new weekly RADA NARODOWA, which will be published by RSW [Worker's Cooperative Publishing House] Contemporary Publishers.
- 10 February. The press has published a list of 239 members of the Socio-Economic Council of the IX Sejm who have been nominated so far. Among them are journalists: Waldemar Krajewski (Warsaw TV), Jan Plawnicki (CHRZESCIJANIN A WSPOLCZESNOSC), Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz (POLITYKA), Leslaw Tokarski (PERSPEKTYWY), Kazimierz Zarzycki (TAK I NIE), Ryszard Zielinski (publicist, chairman of the Main Council of the ChSS [Christian Social Association]).
- 11 February. In Warsaw at the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic [GDR], an awards ceremony took place. The following Polish publicists and socio-political activists were honored with GDR state distinctions: editors Witold Dobski, Eugeniusz Guza, Daniel Lulinski, Edmund Meclewski, and Marian Podkowinski.
- 11 February. In the editorial offices of SZPILKI, the award ceremony "Zlota Szpilka 1986" took place. The award has been given by the editorial offices yearly for the past 19 years. In the category of socio-political caricature, Ireneusz Parzyszek received the Zlota Szpilka award, Edmund Lutczyn, the Srebrna Szpilka award, and Jozef Jurczyszyn, the Brazowa Szpilka award. In the category of humorous drawing, the jury gave the following awards: Zlota Szpilka to Zbigniew Ziomecki, Srebrna Szpilka to Szczepan Sadurski, and Brazowa Szpilka to Jerzy Flisak.

19 February. A symposium on the theme of the participation of the mass media in the development of the legal consciousness and culture of society took place in the Bielsko Biala Provincial Procurator's office with the participation of the Deputy Procurator General of the PRL, Hipolit Starszak.

The following participated in the symposium: press, radio and television journalists, workers of the party apparatus with a secretary of the Provincial Committee, Jozef Mamorski, workers of the state administration with the Bielsko vice-governor, Dr Jan Walach, activists of the Association of Polish Lawyers with the vice-chairman of the Main Council, Juliusz Petrykowski, procurators, judges, functionaries of the MO [Peoples' Militia], lawyers and legal advisers. Editor Krystyna Chrupek represented the Socio-Legal Publicists Club of the SD PRL.

During the symposium, procurator Dr Michal Bereznicki presented the results of research on social-legal publishing and court reporting in the columns of the central and local press, conducted by the Provincial Procurator's office in Bielsko Biala. The objects of the research were the following issues and problems: the type of legal transgressions dominating published articles (reportage, editorials, etc) and in individual pieces of news; the manner in which individual matters, manifestations, or problems which are the object of the publication (descriptive, analytical, etc) are being presented; the sources from which the authors derive the information about facts and manifestations which are the canvas of their publication; the potential influence of the publication (both positive and negative) on the activities of the organs of the prosecution and the reflection of justice, mainly on the grounds of individual criminal matters; the conformity of press publications in matters which are the object of preparatory procedure with the contents of article 3 paragraph 2 of the kpk [code of criminal justice]; reaction of the readers (published letters to the editor, etc) to press publications; the putting into procuratorial practice (police, juridical, and legal--comparative formulation) of the methods of inspiring journalists and publicists to raise social-legal problems and their conformity with the determinants of the sociology of law, criminology, and social pedagogy; the potential influence of the publications on the development of proper attitudes of citizens and especially on social consciousness and legal culture; sources which can serve the optimalization of socio-legal publications with a view toward the aim of cultural creativity and also in consideration of reflecting well on justice.

In the course of the discussion, attention was focused, among other things, on the need to interest widely specialists in journalism in socio-legal publications and court reporting.

The chairman of the Provincial Directorate of the ZPP [Union of Polish Lawyers], provincial procurator Adam Zborek, conducted the symposium.

20 February. A plenary session of the ZG [Main Board] of the Association of Journalists of the PRL took place in the Warsaw Journalists Club. We have published an extensive report on the meeting in the first part of this issue.

20 February. In the Press Club in Kazimierz on the Wisla, a three day general assembly of the Federation of Trade Unions of Publishing Workers and the Agency RSW [Workers Cooperative Publishing House] "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" has concluded. Seventy delegates participated, representing 27 unions in the federation which includes more than 5000 members. The adopted program statute contains the most significant resolutions regarding the improvement of the social and material situation of the community. The federation's new government was elected: Editor Zdzislaw Derbich of the PA [Polish Agency] Interpress was reelected as chairman.

20 February. The Club of Union and Worker Selfmanagement Publicists of the SD PRL in Serock organized a seminar on the subject of the current socio-unionist problems of the country. The program anticipated, among other things, meetings with the management of the following divisions: propaganda, socio-unionist division, the socio-legal division of the PZPR Central Committee, and with the representatives of the leadership of the OPZZ [All-Poland Trade Union Agreement].

21 February. A protocol on cooperation between PA Interpress and the Bulgarian Agency Sofia Press, for 1986-1989, was signed by the agencies' chiefs: Stanislaw Glabinski and Stefan Pietrov.

26 February. The Second Congress of the Polish Writers Union ended its deliberations in Warsaw. Motions and postulates concerning both the program of the union work and many important union, social and living problems, were submitted. A new union governing board was elected. Wojciech Zukrowski became the chairman of the ZLP, and Halina Auderska, its honorary chairman.

The following [writers] were elected to the Governing Board: Aleksander Bechenski, Bohdan Czeszko, Feliks Fornalczyk, Jerzy Jesionowski, Julian Kawalec, Jan Koprowski, Zygmunt Lichniak, Mikolaj Melanowicz, Aleksander Nawrocki, Aleksander Rowinski, Michal Rusinek, Waclaw Sadkowski, Adam Jerzy Sokolowski, Jozef Szczawinski, Tadeusz Sliwiak, Kazimierz Truchanowski, Andrzej Wasilewski, Andrzej Krzysztof Waskiewicz, Zygmunt Wojcik, Stanislaw Zielinski and Wojciech Zukrowski.

The following became deputy members of the governing Board: Leslaw Bartelski, Romuald Karas, Tadeusz Kijonka, Slawomir Boguslaw Kunda, Janusz Przymanowski and Włodzimierz Sokorski.

Wojciech Zukrowski was the only candidate for the position of the chairman. The newly elected board also appealed to Jerzy Jesionowski, Julian Kawalec, and Michal Rusinek, to become candidates, but they refused. Wojciech Zukrowski received 107 of the 118 votes cast.

The Governing Board appointed a presidium. Besides Wojciech Zukrowski, the following writers became part the presidium: Jerzy Jesionowski, Zygmunt Lichniak and Zygmunt Wojcik, as vicechairmen, Aleksander Nawrocki, a secretary, and Andrzej K. Waskiewicz, deputy secretary; Jozef Szczawinski, treasurer, and Waclaw Sadkowski, deputy treasurer. The following became members of the presidium: Feliks Fornalczyk, chairman of the qualifying commission, and Mikolaj Melanowicz, chairman of the foreign commission,

Aleksander Rowinski, chairman of the intervention commission, and Jan Koprowski, responsibility for contacts with ZLP branches.

The Main Collegial Court [GSK], and the Main Revision Commission [GKR] of the ZLP, were also formed. Juliusz Gomulicki became the chairman of the GSK, and the activities of the GKR will be directed by Zdzislaw Morawski.

26 February. A meeting of the Warsaw Group of Senior Journalists [ZSD] of the SD PRL, took place in the Warsaw Journalist Club. During the meeting, Jerzy Janitz of the Office for Religious Affairs, gave a report on church-state relations, followed by a discussion. Afterwards, the chairman of the ZSD, Wlodzimierz Goszczynski, acquainted the participants with the current and planned work in the community of Warsaw journalist retirees.

28 February. The fifth session of the National Reporter's Club of the SD PRL took place in Krakow. The purpose of the session was to acquaint reporters more closely wit the problems of yesterday and today in Nowa Huta, and with the history of reporting dedicated to the town and the combine.

The participants in the session visited several production divisions of the combine, including the converter house, the slab mill and the cold-rolling mill, and they met with the administrative and political management of the plant. The 3-hour meeting had the character of a press conference. After the introductory remarks by the chief director of the combine, Dr. Eugeniusz Pustowka, the journalists' questions about production and the social and political problems of the steel mill were answered by representatives of the management, the party organization, and unionists. The conference was chaired by Andrzej Barszcz, editor in chief of GLOS NOWEJ HUTY, and summed up by Director Pustowka. He stated that the fundamental problems of the combine are: to raise the technical level of the steel mill, to increase the number of employees and maintain the stability of the work force, and to continue actions toward environmental protection.

The second day of the session, in the "Under the Pear Tree" journalist club, began with the report of Krystyna Goldberg on the subject of the reportarial work of nonfiction about work in the industry (an article version of the report is presented on page 46). Kazimierz Wolny from the Teachers College in Rzeszow, in his report entitled "Newspaper reporting on production in the years 1949-1955," presented a fragment of his theoretical-literary studies. The traditional "Duel with a reporter" also took place. This time, as "one against all," stood Bruno Miecugos, satirist and publicist, who in the years 1953-1954 was a reporter for the newspaper WE ARE BUILDING SOCIALISM, an organ of the Plant Committee of the Construction of the Nowa Huta Town and Combine.

At the end of the session, Stanislaw Zagorski, chairman of the National Reporters Club, informed the participants that Mark Rymuszka of PRAWO I ZYCIE, one of its most active members, had joined the board of the club. Zagorski also presented the work plan for the current year. Three sessions have been planned: in May in Kolobrzeg, on inclusive reporting, in the fall in Elblag, on cinema and television films (including serials), some of which have been written by reporters or originated in reporting, and by the end of

the year in the vicinity of Warsaw, on the subject of publishing policy with regard to reporting.

28 February. The Club of Socio-Legal Publicists of the SD PRL organized in the Warsaw Journalist Club held a meeting with Prof Sylwester Zawadzki, chairman of the Legislative Council, on the subject of Reporting about the State of Law.

[Text] The position of the Press Council Commission on Press Law of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the issue of popularizing the regulations of the Press Law.

The press law, which is the concretization of Article 83 of the Constitution of Polish People's Republic, in the part which constitutes freedom of speech is one of the important achievements in the task of development and deepening of socialist democracy in our country.

Polish journalism is fully aware that freedom of speech, as one of the basic civic laws, can be used only in full accordance with other systemic principle included in the Basic Law.

As the contemporary conveyor of the constitutional freedom of speech, the Press Law ought to be precisely known to every Polish journalist, all links of state and economic administration, and all social links. It is in the broadly understood public interest that the letter and spirit of the Press Law be adopted in the fullest scope by the whole society.

Therefore the Council of Minister's chairman's Press Council appeals to the managers and employees of all the mass media to popularize more systematically the regulations of the new law. The knowledge of its principles is not yet sufficiently known in the journalist community, the official links, social organizations and society.

During the period of the creation of the law and discussion of its assumptions, and then in the short period after it was passed by the Sejm of the PRL, the theme of the press law was more frequently in the press, radio and television. Currently, although it has not fully rooted itself in the social conscience, it seldom finds its way to press, and infrequently appears in the radio and television.

The necessity of shaping according to the press law:

- --access to information
- --correct attitude toward criticism
- --institution of the journalist's secret
- --principle of particular care in the execution of the journalist's profession

requires a more systematic discussion in the mass media of the problems resulting from the observation of the operation of the press law in practice, both with regard to the work of the mass media, and to respecting the principles of this law by all other links obliged to it by law.

The Press Council expresses hope that the leaderships of all the editing teams will share the conviction of the Press Council of the need for a more frequent and more systematic tackling and explaining of the themes connected with the Press Law in the mass media.

12270 CSO: 2600/418 POLITICS

ACADEMIC VIEWS PERIODICAL SUBSCRIPTION SHORTAGE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jul 86 p 3

[Text] Prof Wiktor Szostak, director of the Food and Nourishment Institute, said the following to Halina Kleszcz of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA on 5-6 July:

"Perhaps in Poland we are repeating research which has already been conducted in other countries. But this is as a result of our trailing the world in science by several years. I can remember a time when the library at our institute was well-stocked; today, however, it is a disgrace. This is the price one pays for isolation. I worked abroad and know how intense and productive are the scientific contacts there. We repeat and will repeat that which others already know or else we will do nothing at all.

About 20 percent of the staff leaves our institute each year. A portion of them, to be sure, do so because they do not see any change for a quick academic career. We hire new employees with no previous academic experience and, theoretically, after 5 years, we have a completely new staff. But are we to be happy with this? I don't think so. At present, it is best to learn a profession in a state-owned firm and then go out and sell your knowledge to a foreign-owned firm. We would not look too good if it weren't for a portion of our staff remaining behind despite the wretched pay which averages 14,000 zloty per month.

New principles of academic financing are making things hard on us, but I believe that if we overcome our present difficulties, we will enter a better period. To avoid a catastrophe, we must find the money to publish a scientific periodical which is the major concern at present.

We must develop some sort of rational method of hard currency distribution. Currently, we are practicing the philosophy of a generous uncle--to give a little to everyone. As a result, no one can accumulate adequate resources. As long as we do not concentrate adequate energies and resources in the academic sector, everything will only stagnate. If it were up to me, I would at least stock the Main Medical Library to meet European standards."

POLITICS

SOVIET, POLISH 'CHILDREN EXCHANGE' BEGINS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Jul 86 p 2

[Text] The closely allied provincial PZPR committees and district CPSU committees have for several years considered ambitious plans for mutual cooperation and also the exchange of children and young people for summer holiday to be spent in each others country. The first trains, buses and airplanes carrying Polish children departed during the first week of July. Groups numbering hundreds of children are already vacationing on hospitable Soviet soil. Those from Lodz and Skierniewice are staying in Ivanovo, from Piotrkow Trybunalski in Kostroma, from Zielona Gora in Vitebsk, and from Katowice in Donetsk.

Soviet children in groups of equal size are vacationing together with their Polish counterparts in attractive tourist resorts situated throughout the country.

The rich program prepared by this year's organizers of joint exchange vacations for Polish and Soviet children guarantees an excellent rest and an exceptionally enjoyable stay.

Subsequent groups will depart during the second week of July and in August. At that time, groups from Random will travel to Yaroslavl, from Wroclaw to Zaporozhe, from Warsaw to Moscow, from Szczecin to Riga, from Poznan to Kharkov and from Bialystok to Grodno and Lithuania.

All in all, some 7000 children will spend a 24-day vacation in the Soviet Union with their Soviet friends. The recruitment of children for the program was supervised by union aktivs and the Polish Scout Union in conjunction with provincial party committees. The majority of those departing children of plant workers holding jobs tied directly to production.

POLITICS POLAND

GROWING FIGURES FOR JUVENILE CRIME

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Jul 86 p 8

[Text] In the weekly KOBIETA I ZYCIE, Iwona Jurczenki-Dzieniak writes:

"Last year in the province of Warsaw, 2,144 juveniles committed 5,222 criminal offenses. Of these, 488 children had prior criminal records and 143 committed crimes while intoxicated. Files from the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs show that more than 8,000 juveniles were reprimanded for immoral behavior. This figure agrees with data from the Warsaw school superintendent's office which had shown that two percent of these were children under the age of seven.

The extent of delinquency and social inconformity among the school age population is estimated at 15-20 percent. More than 500,000 pupils are raised in homes where parents abuse alcohol. Records kept by Ministry of Education [MO] inspectors for juvenile matters, show that more than 60,000 juveniles were guilty of immoral conduct. Juveniles also account for approximately 10 percent of all crime committed.

Why is it that even with our excellent scientific theories and good legal solutions, we cannot arrive at an appropriate system of crime prevention and rehabilitation? The causes for such behavior should be found and short-comings in public policy identified, particularly the inadequacy in meeting the needs of people who are badly off and the lack of educational therapy which should also be offered to parents of delinquent children.

It is also important to note that several ministries are involved in crime prevention and education, among others, the ministry of education and general instruction, justice, and health and social welfare. As a result, activity in this area is uncoordinated and, therefore, often ineffective".

FILM CENSORSHIP NO BENEFIT TO SOCIALISM

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Jul 86 p 8

[Text] The following is an excerpt from Krzysztof Kreutzinger's interview with docent Jerzy Kossak published in FILM:

"Sir, you have stated that an artist, in the communist sense, should deliver conflicts of his time without embellishment. But, as you know, this is not always that simple. We know of a number of artists who were guilty of being more critical than was permitted under some unwritten norm and as a result found contacts and an audience more difficult to reach.

This practice harms socialism because it does not allow enough time for conflicts to appear. Art is sometimes capable of revealing such evils sooner than sociology or political science. We also run into other problems due to the influence of art on society. It is important to the system, which we are building, to see how principles governing human receptivity, his tolerance for other viewpoints and sense of the world are developing. The different ways of forming artistic opinion as well as the various means of looking at contemporary human problems within a theme makes me believe that we are capable of constructing a diversity of views. Art is capable of achieving much by revealing different traditional beliefs as well as the problems and difficulties of the present day".

POLITICS

BRIEFS

SOVIET ACADEMICIANS IN POZNAN--A visiting group of Soviet academicians which included a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Academy of Science, Prof Nikolai Basov, was in Poznan on 11 July. A series of working meetings between the Soviet delegation and representatives of various academic centers located in the capital of Great Poland began on that day. The first meeting was held in Dzialynski Palace with members of the Poznan branch of the Polish Academy of Science [PAN]. Prof Witold Michalkiewicz, PAN departmental secretary, spoke of the economic research conducted by the Academy. The Soviet academicians later met with representatives of regional political and administrative bodies at the PZPR Provincial Committee headquarters. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Jul 86 p 2] 13090/12947

CSO: 2600/585

POLITICS

MAIN GOALS OF ARTISTIC CREATIVITY DISCUSSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 28, 10 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Aurel Mihale: "Social Ideal--Aesthetic Ideal"; first paragraph is ROMANIA LITERARA introduction]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu (from "Raportul CC al PCR la Congresul al IX-lea al partidulul" [The RCP Central Committee Report to the Ninth Party Congress]): "History shows that the great people of culture, true artists, have expressed in their works the reality of the time, have sided with the people, whom they have helped and inspired in the struggle for a better life, for social progress. All the more, the socialist society's creators of art must identify themselves with the aspirations of those who work, must serve the splendid goal of forging a happier and happier life for the whole populace."

In literary artistic practice, our socialist ideal becomes, for an author engaged in the struggle to attain it, an aesthetic ideal. This results from his general philosophical and ideological outlook on life, the world, and society and is the direct expression, on the one hand, of his innate and cultivated aesthetic attitude toward reality, of his capacity for artistic assimilation of the world, and, on the other hand, of his outlook on art and literature, understanding their nature and role as a specific expression of artistic knowledge and an active factor in the revolutionary practice of forging the new man and the new, socialist society. The aesthetic ideal is equally a constituent element of the writer's artistic consciousness and of the literary work's content as well as a renewing source and high goal of the demiurgic act of creation. Although a general principle of this, it is characteristic of each creative individual, a constituent element and an innovative attribute of personal artistic thinking, always in agreement with the dominant ideology of society, when it is progressive, and in profound disagreement with it, when it is conservative or, more, reactionary, true to the historical perspective of the social-human reality, to its evolution. It substantiates, orients, and intensifies the concrete, creative manifestation of the great literary talents, gives substance and meaning to the artistic idea of the great literary works. As a force of artistic thinking, it determines to a considerable degree the author's literary style, imposes on it, along with the other elements of the reflected content of actions, ideas, and feelings, a certain artistic mode, thus conferring on the talent greater expressiveness, originality, vigor, consistency, and militancy in affirming his creative capacity. A fact

from which there necessarily results its inclusion as a constituent element in artistic reception, in the act of critical judgment and evaluation of the literary work, in the substantiation of the aesthetic value, in the system and ranking of the literary values.

By its very essence, the aesthetic ideal is partisan, an expression beholden to an ideology, and we, as bearers of the socialist aesthetic ideal, recognize and declare this openly, thus legitimating our literary militancy. Especially as, in its essence, the socialist aesthetic ideal is a humanistic ideal, one of revolutionary humanism, with man, as an object and objective of literature, being, in the final analysis, both the object and objective of social and political practice, the pearl of the aggregate of his social, existential relations. Therefore, in accordance with our aesthetic ideal, we can actually aspire, really "dream" of accomplishing this main objective of art and literature, that of man's affirmation, of his fulfillment. Assuming that it is also suitably represented in artistic images, an aesthetic ideal cannot exist and, especially, survive, successfully face the time except from this humanistic perspective. The history of literature does not contain any fundamental work that is not a bearer of such a high humanistic message. Along with the power of literary expression, precisely its presence, viability, and permanent value have provided to the great works their unique durability. This also explains why the great social-progressive eras have also produced great literary artistic works, through which, as a matter of fact, their real image has survived, coming down to us. Only the works that, animated by a high aesthetic ideal, impose great humanistic values, corresponding to humanity's great aspirations toward fulfillment, can aspire to universality and persistence through time. And we believe that our socialist ideal can be such a great and fruitful aesthetic ideal, precursory to the future society and human condition.

However, in order to keep it from a utopian understanding and a sterile representation, it must not be separated from the concrete of social life, from our era's social-human realities, from the people's major, existential aspirations, but, on the contrary, anchored in their most profound truth. And in order to keep it from a lack of consistency, from immobilism, from narrowness and dogmatic schematism, it must be evaluated in its ontological dialectic and "captured" as such in the literary work's structure. That is, inspiredly concretized in its implicit message, with which it must not be confused, but which also includes it implicitly. While the aesthetic ideal, as an element of the literary work's content, represents the vital force of its structure, the message coming from it becomes the "hot blood" that fills all its tissues, "invisible" on the surface, but it alone lifegiving, the "sap" of the literary work. However, precisely this presupposes absolutely the existence, the creation of the artistic image, that is, the process of the artistic transfiguration of the aesthetic ideal, as a vital center of the very forging of the literary work.

Consequently, the aesthetic ideal, as a consubstantial element and primordial attribute of artistic thinking, remains a mere desire if it is not incorporated organically into the artistic concrete, into the structure and meaning of the literary work. Moreover, for a creator, it cannot exist in itself, outside of the specific expression of the artistic image as a "vital" cell

generating the literary creation. Therefore, the existence of the aesthetic ideal--of the socialist aesthetic ideal in the case of our literature--in a work is provided by the very fact of literary creation, by the ineffable process of its artistic transfiguration. The act of artistic transfiguration, not just of the aesthetic ideal, but of the work's whole content of actions, ideas, and feelings, constitutes the central problem and basic condition of creation. The mere declaratory assertion, no matter how sincere, of our socialist ideal, sometimes also done with demonstrative "noise," remains outside of literature as such; as, in addition, an inadequate, unspecific, narrow, and "forced" reflection distorts the essence of the literary work, of its aesthetic ideal itself, doing a disservice to its essence and functionality. A literary theme corresponding fully to our aesthetic ideal -- no matter how important and original, novel it may be -- does not alone, by itself, save the "work," unless it undergoes the corresponding process of the necessary artistic transfiguration. A thing that seems and, of course, is well known, but it must constantly be reevaluated, of necessity, must be demonstrated both in current practice and in current literary criticism, in order to ensure the identity and the quality characteristic of the literary creation, which we want to be as valuable and "efficient" as possible. The too frequent "literaturization" of our aesthetic ideal depreciates the act of creation and compromises this very ideal. The continued circulation of the common opinion according to which the writer's mission would amount to illustrating in as "masterly" a way as possible our socialist ideal in artistic images, that is, to finding the artistic "form" suited to its rendition, is not only incorrect, contrary to the essence of the act of artistic transfiguration, but also detrimental to the realization of literature that we want, to its social-aesthetic "efficiency."

Our socialist ideal must preexist in the author's artistic thinking in the form of his aesthetic ideal, and moreover, it cannot exist outside of its "form," but only concretized, embodied, transfigured in representations and artistic images. Its light must be "absorbed" organically by these "vital cells" of artistic thinking, just like the miraculous process of photosynthesis in plants, of creation of the marvelous chlorophyll as a chief specific vital element of theirs. Other representations of this subtle process of transfiguration could also be sought, like that of the "inversion" of the aesthetic ideal in the content of the artistic image, or, perhaps more suitably, like that of its "sublimation" in the diaphanous structure of the artistic In any case, the authorship and the possibility of the process belong to the creative imagination of the author, and its essence will remain the same: specific, unique, and absolutely necessary for the identity of the literary creation. Therefore, the success of his inner development presupposes, of necessity, on the one hand, an organic ideational and emotional assimilation of the aesthetic ideal and, on the other hand, or, more precisely, at the same time, a skilled effort at as successful an artistic realization as possible, characteristic of each creative and infinitely perfectible individual.

12105

CSO: 2700/234

POLITICS ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION, TELECOMMUNICATIONS—The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Vasile Bulucea is relieved of his position as minister of transportation and telecommunications and Comrade Pavel Aron is appointed minister of transportation and telecommunications. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 9 Aug 86 p 3] /13104

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Simion Cotoi is appointed to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Buzau County Peoples Council and Comrade Vasile Bulucea is appointed to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Gorj County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 9 Aug 86 p 3] /13104

ARAD COUNTY APPOINTMENT—On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples council the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Elena Pugna is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Arad County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 50, 9 Aug 86 p 4] /13104

GOVERMENTAL APPOINTMENTS—The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Col Gen Constantin Sandru is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee; Comrade Col Gen Gheorghe Zarnescu is appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee; Comrade Marin Capisizu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the food industry and the purchasing of agricultural products; Comrade Ioan Oancea is appointed deputy minister of the food industry and the purchasing of agricultural products; Comrade Constantin Rosca is appointed chairman of the Legislative Council, with the rank of deputy minister. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 9 Aug 86 p 4] /13104

cso: 2700/272

TEST-TUBE BABIES, FERTILITY RESEARCH DEVELOPMENTS

Births Reported

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 22/23 Mar 86 p 2

[Article: "Another 'Text-Tube Baby' Born in the GDR: Mother and Child Are Doing Fine"]

[Text] Halle, ADN--On Friday in the women's clinic of the Halle-Kroellwitz University Clinic, the first child was born in Halle whose procreation occurred outside of the mother's organism through in vitro fertilization.

The girl--weighing 3.5 kilograms and 49 centimeters in length--and the mother are enjoying the best of health.

The first four children in the GDR to be engendered by means of extracorporal fertilization first saw the light of the world in October and November 1984 in the women's clinic of the medical area (Charite) of Humboldt University in Berlin.

The little Sophie, who was born in July 1985 at the Rostock University Clinic, was the fifth such child. In mid-December 1985, a patient was delivered of healthy twins at the Leipzig University Clinic for Gynecology and Obstetrics.

The first impregnations outside the organism were undertaken in 1978 in England. They led to the birth of the first "test-tube baby," the girl Louise Brown. In the meantime, worldwide several hundred children have been brought into the world this way.

Medical Expert Interviewed

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21/22 Jun 86 p 13

[Interview with Prof Dr of Medicine Hans Bayer, director of the women's clinic of the Charite, by Claudia Paubel on 20 June 1986; place not specified; first paragraph is BERLINER ZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] The next Sunday lecture in the Charite takes place on 22 June 1986. The subject about which Prof Dr Hans Bayer, director of the women's clinic,

will speak is "Unfulfilled Desire for Children and How to Handle It." The lecture begins at 10 o'clock in the lecture hall of the skin clinic, Schumannstrasse 20/21, Berlin 1040. As always, BERLINER ZEITUNG readers have the opportunity to send in written questions to the editor's office. Prof Bayer gave us the chance to interview him in advance.

[Question] In the GDR, 10 to 15 percent of all couples remain without children involuntarily. That is a rather large group of affected people. How good are the chances of receiving the attention of medical specialists quickly?

[Answer] Every district of the republic has at least one clinic that specializes in uncovering the reasons for involuntary childlessness and in carrying out the appropriate treatment. In addition, there is the sterility consultation that is also carried out in some of the Berlin health facilities. But the number of patients is so large that we cannot attend to every couple immediately. Another difficulty is the fact that the diagnosis and therapy of female sterility in particular are very complex and time-consuming. That is not only because of the influx of patients but can also be attributed to certain biological factors and the necessary extensive consultation.

It is understandable that precisely the affected couples are interested in the causes of the sterility. Much has already been said and written about this. We have determined in direct contact with our patients that the findings often relate only to subareas—the information is available only for sections, so to speak. That is why in tomorrow's lecture I will attempt to present the subject more comprehensively and in context.

The Causes Are Distributed Differently

[Question] One commonly encounters the opinion that the causes of involuntary childlessness can primarily be found with the woman. Do your experiences verify that?

[Answer] I would like to put this prejudice into perspective: the causes of sterility are with the woman about 40 percent of the time, with the man about 30 to 40 percent of the time, and with both in 10 to 20 percent of the "cases." For an insignificant percentage of the couples, it cannot be clearly established where the causes lie.

Although the "frequency of causes" is about equal for man and woman, tomorrow I will limit myself to the causes and forms of female sterility.

[Question] Let us stick with the key word, causes. Which disorders come into consideration when a woman's wish for a child is not fulfilled?

[Answer] There are two groups of disorders with women--functional causes, on the one hand, and organic causes on the other. By a functional disorder, we mean that the life function reproduction is adversely affected by the fact that the ovary produces no mature egg cells. That has mainly hormonal reasons.

In such a case, we perform a general examination of the patient and diagnose the menstrual cycle. At the same time, the partner is examined, for the further organic diagnostics of the woman is in part linked with minor operations that naturally should not be undertaken until the man has been eliminated as the "causer" of the childlessness.

Primary among the organic causes of sterility in the woman are the sticking and blocking of the ovaries, not infrequently the result of inflammatory changes—following an interrupted pregnancy, for example. The impermeability of the ovaries can be determined in various ways. Among other things, in that the organ if flushed out or X-rayed after administering a constrast medium.

Operations Often Necessary

[Question] Tracking down the causes is only the first step of effective help. What possibilities for treatment are available to the gynecologists?

[Answer] In the case of functional disorders, we use hormone compounds to stimulate the ovary and to achieve the production of mature egg cells. But if the cause is organic in nature, then an operation is usually necessary. For a year now, we here in the Charite have also been using up-to-date microsurgical and laser surgical methods. The chances for a successful operation are thus improved.

[Question] What, then, are the prospects of success for patients who undergo sterility treatment?

[Answer] It is necessary to differentiate on this point. We successfully treat 30 to 40 percent of the women with functional disorders. We cannot give quite as much hope to patients whose sterility is organic in nature. A child is carried to term after only about one-fifth of the operations. Since it is thereby not a matter of minor but of in part very extensive operations and these are performed on women who, strictly speaking, are not sick, we see how great the responsibility of those involved is. It is necessary to point out this risk. But we are prepared to operate on any woman who, in agreement with her partner, so desires.

[Question] The "test-tube" babies, of which five have now been born in the Charite, have made headlines in recent years. Does this have much effect on expanding the spectrum of possibilities for helping couples who are involuntarily childless?

[Answer] Certainly extracorporal fertilization is an additional form of fulfilling the desires for children. I must point out, however, that this is a highly specialized form of therapy that is very costly. It can be considered only when both of the woman's ovaries are missing or impervious and no help can be expected from an operation.

Nevertheless, the number of candidates for such treatment is quite large and thus a rather long waiting period is unavoidable.

In case the male partner is sterile, artificial insemination can also be carried out through a sperm donation. This method has been practiced successfully for years.

Many Have Already been Helped

[Question] Despite all of these possibilities, are there not some limits to the "art" of medicine?

[Answer] I would like to view the problem from the positive side. The majority of our patients does not go home empty-handed. We have already been able to help many married couples fulfill their wish for children. It is important to have absolute openness in the treatment process. We do not conceal the risks or the temporal, physical and psychological burdens. And not every success is solely dependent upon our skill: after treatment, one must always wait and see how the organism reacts. Without beings mystics, we have already observed astounding forms of "natural self-help."

Ethical Questions Considered

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER KLINISCHE MEDIZIN in German No 24, Nov 85 pp 1815-1816

[Article under the "Medical Ethics" rubric: "Determination of the Position on In Vitro Fertilization and Human Embryo Transfer"; from the Interdisciplinary Working Group Ethics in Medicine (chairman: Prof Dr of Philosophical Sciences E. Luther) at the Academy for the Advanced Training of Physicians of the GDR, the main research orientation Pregnancy and Early Child Development (authorized representative Prof Dr sc med W. Braun), and the board of directors of the Society for Gynecology and Obstetrics of the GDR (chairman: Prof Dr med habil H. Bayer)]

[Text] Summary

As the result of indisciplinary discussions and on the basis of socialist morality and socialist law, recommendations are formulated on the clinical application of in-vitro fertilization as well as on the use of human egg cells and early embryonic stages for the clarification of scientific questions.

Relevant terms: sterility therapy, in-vitro fertilization, morality, law.

Manuscript submitted: 4 July 1985 Manuscript accepted: 12 August 1985

Address: Docent Dr sc phil Uwe Koerner, Academy for the Advanced Training of Physicians of the GDR, 1134 Berlin, Noeldnerstrasse 34-36, GDR.

The Interdisciplinary Working Group Ethics in Medicine with the Academy for the Advanced Training of Physicians of the GDR, together with specialists in development biology and genetics, gynecology and obstetrics as well as jurists and social scientists, have discussed the problems in in-vitro fertilization. As a result, the following recommendations were made in agreement with the management of the main research orientation Pregnancy and Early Child Development and with the board of directors of the Society for Gynecology and Obstetrics.

Recommendations on the Clinical Application of In-Vitro Fertilization (IVF) and Embryo Transfer (ET) in Humans

The in-vitro fertilization of human egg cells is a highly specialized therapeutic procedure that is sensibly integrated into the treatment of biological reproduction disorders of such importance for health and social policy. Its application in accordance with the following recommendations is in agreement with the humanistic principles of socialist society and the ethical norms of medicine. The procedure should be applied only when strictly indicated and when other methods are hopeless. Ethically justified norms are necessary in three areas:

- -- in the first place, in the simple therapeutic application of the IVF,
- --secondly, in expanded forms of the therapeutic application of the IVF,
- --thirdly, in the use of human egg cells and early embryonic stages for the clarification of scientific questions.

1. Simple Therapeutic IVF

1.1. Preconditions

1.1.1. Indications

- a) absolute indication: missing tubes, unsuccessfully treated blocked tubes, and other tubular insufficiencies
- b) relative indications: oligospermia after unsuccessful homologous insemination treatment, immunological incompatibility, idiopathic sterility.

1.1.2. Social Preconditions

As a rule, there should be a marriage or a partnership that offers favorable conditions for the development of the child.

1.2. Ethical and Legal Evaluation

Since the biotic and social status of the child is not affected by the difference between in-vivo and in-vitro fertilization and the procedure also does not affect the rights of third parties, the simple IVF is ethically and legally unobjectionable; it has no specific relevance that legally deviates from that of other therapeutic procedures in sterility therapy.

1.3. Cryoconservation

Nontransferred embryos can be cryoconserved for the length of the woman's biological reproductive capacity if that helps to improve the individual therapy success and to perform the embryo transplant more effectively.

2. Expanded Therapeutic IVF

2.1. Egg Cell and Embryo Transplant

In the case of medical and social reasons that continue to hinder the fulfillment of the desire of children, the transplantation of the egg cell or embryo is already a feasible possibility. Operations just for the purpose of obtaining egg cells for egg transplants are now considered unjustifiable because of the stresses and risks for the test subject. There is the possibility of utilizing the superfluous egg cells obtained from other women. The justified moral claim of the potential donor to a success mainly to be guaranteed by her determines the decision for an egg or embryo transplant. As a rule, therefore, there are currently no unfertilized egg cells available for transplantation but only early embryos.

2.1.1. Indication

Egg cell and embryo transplants are indicated in the case of reproductive ovary insufficiency. The indication for the application of an embryo transplant can also exist in the case of certain genetic diseases

2.1.2. Ethical and Legal Evaluation

The donation of an egg cell is to be handled ethically and legally as in the donation of sperm in donor insemination. To be sure, in a certain analogy, one could bring the embryo donation to adoption under the aspect of the full prospective potential to form a human being. Legally, however, it is to be handled without restriction as in the germ cell in the case of donor insemination. The transplantation of egg cells and embryos requires the written approval of both gamete donors as well as a waiver of all rights relative to the recipient and the child. The husband of the recipient recognizes the child as legitimate. Neither does the child have an claims on the genetic parents. Absolute anonymity must be maintained.

2.2. Determination of the Position on Additional Procedures

- 2.2.1. We rule out the application of the nurse-mother procedure, especially commercially as the hired-mother procedure, for ethical and moral reasons.
- 2.2.2. The methods of sex selection or molecular gene therapy that appear to be applicable in the future on the basis of the results achieved in animal experiments are not ready for clinical application and therefore are not the subject of these recommendations.

3. Clarification and Statement of Consent

After the preconditions for the IVF are established in a clinical examination to clear up the reasons for sterility, in proposing the application of the IVF, the physician gives suitable and adequate information to both partners on the objective, probability of success, methods and associated burdens as well as on the possible risks of complications. The clarification and consent are to be documented with the signatures of both partners.

4. Preconditions for Science and Technology and Personnel

The IVF should be carried out only in selected gynecological-obstetrical facilities as determined by the minister for health. These facilities must have adequate personnel and technical prerequisites. Required are a specilized interdisciplinary team, a specialized cultivation laboratory, a qualified hormone laboratory and high-performance ultrasonic diagnostics. In addition, the technology of the entire procedure must be adequately tested on animal models.

5. The IVF As a Possible Element of Sterility Diagnostics

The performance of a diagnostic laparoscopy to puncture follicles and obtain egg cells is considered inadmissible when, in foregoing the possibility of embryo implantation, only a "diagnostic attempt" at in-vitro fertilization is to made, for the result of this examination has no diagnostic value and no therapeutic consequences that could justify the operation.

- 6. Scientific Research With Egg Cells and Early Embryos
- 6.1. No experiments or manipulations increasing the risks of deformities may be carried out on egg cells or embryos that are foreseen for transfer.
- 6.2. Research to develop new therapeutic possibilities for the IVF and to carry out direct testing of their systematic details takes place in animal experiments. The clinical testing of the results thereby obtained occurs in accordance with the ethical and legal regulations in effect for this purpose.

Because of the rapid methodological developments in the area of in-vitro fertilization and embryo transfer as well as human genetics and other biomedical disciplines, amplifications and modifications of individual positions can become necessary within a relatively short period of time. For the future development, it is important for us to contribute to improving the rate of success of the clinical application of in-vitro fertilization and embryo transfer on the basis of socialist ethics and morality.

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END